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# CHINA'S ONLY HOPE

## AN APPEAL

by

## HER GREATEST VICEROY

## CHANG CHIH-TUNG

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# CHINA'S ONLY HOPE

VICEROY OF HUPEH AND HUNAN

# CHINA'S ONLY HOPE

## AN APPEAL

By Her Greatest Viceroy,
CHANG CHIH-TUNG,
with the Sanction of the
Present Emperor, Kwang Sü

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE EDITION BY

SAMUEL I. WOODBRIDGE

INTRODUCTION BY

GRIFFITH JOHN, D.D.

"If a man will not understand in what misfortune consists, disgrace is sure to follow: But if he will only face the difficulty—happiness will ensue."—*The Viceroy.*

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# IMPERIAL RESCRIPT OF HIS MAJESTY, KWANG SÜ

"THE Expositor of the Hanlin Academy, Hwang Shao Ki, has to-day, on behalf of Chang Chih-tung, presented us with his work called the 'Chuen Hioh Pien.' We have carefully inspected the volume, and find that it embodies a fair and candid statement of facts. A diligent perusal of its contents will broaden the mental scope and open up methods of far-reaching usefulness.

"We hereby command that the forty volumes which have been sent, be handed to the Grand Council of State, which shall distribute a copy each to the Viceroys, Governors, and Literary Examiners of China in order that they may be extensively published and widely circulated in the Provinces.

"And these High Officials are enjoined to use their sincere endeavors to encourage and exhort the people to hold in reverence the Confucian Religion and suppress all baseless rumors. Respect this."

光緒二十四年六月初七日奉

諭旨

上諭本日翰林院奏侍講黃紹箕呈進張之洞所著勸學篇擬
呈代奏一摺原書內外各篇朕詳加披覽持論平正通達
於學術人心有大裨益著將所備副本四十部由軍機處
頒發各省督撫學政各一部俾得廣為刊布實力勸導
以重名教而杜卮言欽此

# TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS book of Chang Chih-tung, which we have translated into English from the original Chinese text, was written soon after China had been beaten to her knees by the doughty little warriors of the Sunrise Kingdom. It represents the result, in part, of the Chino-Japanese war, and the persistent pressure of other issues by European nations. Had the Viceroy not been so powerful in men and arms, he would have lost his head for the bold advocacy of Reform exhibited in this volume. But he carefully measured his ground before publishing it. He was convinced that a change in Chinese affairs was desperately necessary, and at the same time realized that the Chinese officials and people clung with unyielding tenacity to their ancient ideas and institutions.

To steer successfully a middle course between Scylla and Charybdis required an unwavering courage and a steady hand. The Viceroy pos-

sesses both. Whilst preparing his book he was placed in the most perilous position. He attacks nothing ancient except abuses, but remorselessly scales off the excrescences that have for years been growing and multiplying on the body politic of China.

His book met with such an enthusiastic and eager reception by the Chinese, that we can safely estimate the number of copies distributed at a million. The issues are so live, the interest so intense and exciting, and so new and fresh withal, that the book is devoured with the greatest avidity by the Chinese scholars long accustomed to the dry bones of the Ancient Kings and the moribund and somniferous platitudes of Confucius.

To its influence are in great measure due the bloody *coup d'état* of the Empress Dowager, the overthrow of the young Emperor, the decapitation of the patriotic members of the Reform Party, and, indirectly, the awful scenes that were enacted in China during the last summer of the nineteenth century. The "clear out the foreigner" policy of Prince Tuan, which appears to have been adopted by China, represents a resilience from the ideas advocated in the Viceroy's book. We translated the Chinese in the midst of our missionary

labors in China during the dreadful times of the *coup d'état.* As we pen these lines, new chapters are being rapidly and tragically added to the history of China, now at the mercy of the Great Powers. The courageous Viceroy seems destined to play an important part in shaping the course of the New China. May we not hope that he will have sufficient encouragement and support from our own country to enable him and his colleagues to resist the aggression of upstart nations who, impelled by a brutal self-interest, and regardless of the common rights of man, are compassing the overthrow of that magnificent old Empire of which Chang Chih-tung is the chief pillar and support?

The Chinese text of this book is written in faultless literary style, and displays much prolonged and careful thought, both as to matter and diction. It has been translated into French by the Jesuits in China. The labor of rendering it into English was similar in some respects to what the translation of one of Lord Macaulay's Essays into Chinese would be.

We have omitted much that would be uninteresting to the general reader, especially proof texts *et id omne genus,* and wrought with a free hand, believing that a strict adherence to

mere words is slavish, and that the spirit and genius of translation consist in conveying the thought of one language into another by the shortest and quickest route.

SAMUEL I. WOODBRIDGE.

"WOODLAWN,"
*Columbia, South Carolina,*
September 8, 1900.

# INTRODUCTION

CHANG CHIH-TUNG, the Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan, occupies a unique place among the officials of China at this time. He is a man of profound scholarship, wide information, great mental energy, and restless activity. He is endowed with a strong will and no little courage and daring. As a public officer he is distinguished for his loyalty, his purity, and unselfish devotion to the good of the people under his jurisdiction and to the well-being of the Empire at large. In one respect he is looked upon as a phenomenon among the officials of his day. *The love of money does not seem to be in him.* He might have been one of the richest men in the Empire, for his opportunities of accumulating wealth have been many and peculiarly favorable. As a matter of fact, he is known to be a comparatively poor man for an official of his rank and standing. All the wealth that flows into his *yamen* is spent on public works and public charity. His Excellency may have his weaknesses and eccentricities, and no doubt he has, but

making all due allowances for these, it must be admitted that he is to-day one of China's greatest men. A truer patriot or an abler statesman than the Viceroy of Liang Hu, China does not possess.

Any book written by Chang Chih-tung could not fail to command attention among the Chinese themselves. They are proud of the man and charmed with his literary style. His is a master hand which few of the scholars of the land can equal and none excel. The interest of this book, however, does not centre in its literary style, though in that respect it leaves nothing to be desired, but in the momentous importance of its theme and the great ability displayed by the author in the handling of it. This is the reason the book has been so widely read and discussed by both natives and foreigners since its publication in the spring of last year. The author's aim in writing the book is stated by himself in the preface. China is in danger of perishing. That is the terrible fact which weighs so heavily on the Viceroy's mind. How can China be saved? That is the momentous question to which he addresses himself in this work.

Throughout the book the author shows a remarkable knowledge of the outer world and its affairs. His knowledge is by no means perfect,

and he often blunders in his statements. But no one can read the volume without being struck with the extent of his information on most of the subjects with which he deals. He will be struck also with the evident desire of the author to be fair in his treatment of the foreigner and all matters connected with him. He does not always succeed, it must be admitted. This, however, is to be ascribed not to the want of desire to be fair but to defective knowledge and pardonable prejudice in favor of his own country and people. Chang Chih-tung is a Chinese to the backbone. To him there is no country like China, no people like the Chinese, and no religion to be compared with the Confucian. "Examine," says he, "the history of China for 2,000 years back and then compare it with the Western history of fifty years! Does the government of these foreign countries present such a record of generosity, benevolence, loyalty, and honesty as ours? Although China is not so wealthy and powerful as the West, her people of whatever condition, rich or poor, high or low, all enjoy a perfect freedom and a happy life. Not so all the inhabitants of Western lands. Their governments may be strong, but the lower classes of the people are miserable, unhappy, and maliciously wronged. These governments certainly cannot

be compared with our China." That is pretty strong, and the book has more passages quite as strong. But they are mere sallies and need not be taken seriously. Taking the book as a whole, it is impossible not to be impressed with the fact that the author is trying to be fair to the outside countries and peoples. No thoughtful Chinese can possibly read it without forming a more exalted opinion of both than that which generally prevails among his countrymen.

But the author does not spare China in his denunciations. Some of the heaviest lashes found in the book are those laid on the backs of his own people and their rulers. Says the Viceroy: "Of all countries, China alone has for these fifty years proved herself almost irreclaimably stupid and not awake. Many of the officials and people are proud and indolent. Among our officials there is not one man of discernment; we have no real scholars and no skilful artisans. We are not represented abroad, and at home have no schools. So our incompetencies are not supplied. With nothing to stimulate the mind, harden the nature, or supply the deficiencies, there seems nothing left for China but to perish miserably in the slough of despond and despair." Again, "Old custom is a bugaboo, a password to lying and deceit." That is pretty

plain and honest, and there are not many men in China who dare speak out after that fashion. But the book abounds in such passages, and they show clearly that the Viceroy is thoroughly alive to the state of things at home and that China is, in the eyes of this great statesman, *morally* rotten as well as materially helpless.

The twenty chapters into which the work is divided are of varying interest. Some have peculiar interest to the Chinese reader, and some to the foreign reader. There are two or three which ought to command the special attention of every well-wisher of China. In reading Chapter III. we are interested to find that on examination of Western governments and ways, the Viceroy has discovered that the people of the West do maintain the doctrine of the relation of subject to sovereign; that they hold in common with the Chinese the relation of father to son; that they possess the relation of husband and wife; and that they have not abolished entirely the idea of etiquette. It is refreshing to see the Mosaic Decalogue quoted by His Excellency in order to convince his countrymen that foreigners do really honor their parents, though they do not worship their *manes* after the Chinese fashion.

In Chapter VI. the Viceroy gives his views on

Republics, Parliament, etc. His Excellency will have none of them.

Chapter IX. is one of the most interesting in the book. The vice of opium-smoking is denounced in the strongest terms; but the Viceroy has no faith in government prohibition as a means of suppressing the use of the drug. That, he tells us, has been tried and found wanting. Whilst there is much good sense in what is said in this chapter about the habit being generated by sloth and the want of employment, one cannot but feel that the treatment of the whole subject is superficial, and that the remedy recommended is poor and altogether inadequate.

The suggestions of the Viceroy about converting the temples into schools, and other changes along this line, are very remarkable both in character and aim. He shows himself to be not only a reformer, but a reformer of the most radical and daring stamp. His educational scheme is a truly magnificent one, and would have been crowned with signal success but for the *coup d'état.* We owe it to that unfortunate *coup* that it is not now in full working order in many, if not all, the provinces.

The chapter on Religious Toleration is admirable in every way. It might be published by the

China Religious Tract Societies almost as it stands. It would make a very useful sheet tract for general distribution. The Viceroy deprecates all religious persecutions as wrong and impolitic. The way to advance Confucianism in his opinion is to "reform the government and not everlastingly combat other religions."

Enough has been said to show that this is no ordinary book. But what is the sum of the whole matter? Has the Viceroy found a satisfactory answer to the question: How is China to be saved? on what does he rest his hope for the future of his country? He rests his hope on two things—namely, the renaissance of Confucianism and the adoption of Western science and methods. The old is to form the moral basis, and the new is to be used for practical purposes. But this would simply be to pour new wine into old bottles with the inevitable result of spoiling both. The enthusiasm of the Viceroy for Confucianism is natural and doubtless very sincere. What he needs to see is that Confucianism is effete and altogether too weak to bear the weight of a reformation such as he desires. We pray for the material prosperity of China. But would material prosperity be to the Chinese in their present moral and spiritual condition a real blessing? Would it not

be a bane rather than a blessing? What the Chinese need above all else, and what they must have if they are ever to attain to real greatness is moral and spiritual life. But where is this life to be found? Surely not in Confucianism. Confucius was a good man and one of the world's greatest sages; but this life it is not in his power to give. Christ alone is the bestower of this life, and Christ alone can save China. Christianity alone can form a safe and an adequate basis for the reformation which the Viceroy seeks; but, alas! he does not see it.

In publishing this work, Chang Chih-tung has rendered a great service to his country, and has laid his countrymen under lasting obligations to him. In his preface he quotes an old saying which runs thus: "If a man will not understand in what misfortune consists, disgrace is sure to follow; but if he will only face the difficulty, happiness will ensue." This is precisely what His Excellency has been attempting to do in the preparation of this work. He has been facing the difficulty, and he has been doing so honestly and fearlessly. Had China at this time twenty statesmen possessing the ability, the intelligence, the integrity, and the moral courage of Chang Chih-tung, the Empire might yet be rescued from its present calam-

ity, and its days might be prolonged on the earth. But where is a second Chang Chih-tung to be found?

Our best thanks are due to the Rev. S. I. Woodbridge for this translation of the work. His was no easy task, but he has succeeded admirably. This is not a verbal rendering of the original, but something far better. He has been working, as he himself tells us, "with a free hand, believing that a strict adherence to mere words is slavish, and that the spirit and genius of translation consist in conveying the thought of one language into another by the shortest and quickest route." This is a sound principle and the translator has done well in adopting it in rendering this valuable work into English. By adopting this course, Mr. Woodbridge has succeeded in giving us a translation which is at once true and readable, a combination not always met with in attempts of the kind. He deserves our best thanks for the work he has done, and our heartiest congratulations for the able way in which he has done it.

GRIFFITH JOHN.

LONDON MISSION,
*Hankow, China.*

# PREFACE

In olden times, Ch'u Chwang Wang made it his chief aim to exhort his people to diligence, and to caution his troops lest some catastrophe should suddenly befall his countrymen. In consequence of this, the kingdom of Ch'u became powerful, and the neighboring countries—Ts'i, Tsin, Ch'in, and Sung—were intimidated and held in check. An old saying runs: "If a man will not understand in what misfortune consists, disgrace is sure to follow; but if he will only face the difficulty, happiness will ensue."

In no period of China's history has there arisen an emergency like the present. It is a time of change, and His Imperial Highness, the Emperor of China, has accepted the situation by altering somewhat the system of civil and military examinations and by establishing schools. New plans are being formed for the welfare of the country by Chinese philanthropists, but these plans differ both in degree and kind. There are some who hold that the new learning will save us;

others maintain that its acceptation will abrogate our old doctrines, and that we ought to hold fast the patrimony of our sages. Who can tell which is right? The Conservatives are evidently off their food from inability to swallow, whilst the Liberals are like a flock of sheep who have arrived at a road of many forks and do not know which to follow. The former do not understand what international intercourse means, the latter are ignorant of what is radical in Chinese affairs. The Conservatives fail to see the utility of modern military methods and the benefits of successful change, while the Progressionists, zealous without knowledge, look with contempt upon our widespread doctrines of Confucius. Thus those who cling to the old order of things heartily despise those who even propose any innovation, and they in turn cordially detest the Conservatives with all the ardor of their liberal convictions. It thus falls out that those who really wish to learn are in doubt as to which course to pursue, and in the meantime error creeps in, the enemy invades our coast, and, consequently, there is no defence and no peace.

The present condition of things is not due to outside nations, but to China herself. It has ever been true that the number of our able men has been

proportioned to the good qualities of the government, and that morals are gauged by the conduct of the schools. In view of many facts, and with the hope of relieving our country from her present embarrassments, We, the Viceroy of the Liang Hu, have prepared this work especially for the Chinese under our jurisdiction, and generally for our countrymen in the other provinces. It consists of two parts, divided and discussed as follows:

## PART I.—MORAL.

Subject: *Radical Principles a means of rectifying the Heart.*

Chapter I. *United Hearts.*—It is plain that three things claim our attention just now—the protection of the Empire, the Religion, and the Race. If the hands and feet are nimble, the eyes and head will be at rest, and if the constitution is robust, the purpose will be strong. The Imperial power will increase in proportion to the number of intellectual men who come forward.

Chapter II.—*The Inculcation of Loyalty.*—The moral excellence of this Dynasty is so universally known that both ministers and people should cherish an ardent patriotism in order to conserve the country.

Chapter III. *The Three Moral Obligations.*—The sages have always taught that the true relations existing between the sovereign and subject, father and son, and husband and wife, are of prime importance, the *radix* of propriety and the distinguishing feature between man and the brutes.

Chapter IV. *The Recognition of Class.*—We are grieved lest the Chinese—the descendants of the gods—should be sunk in obscurity, and We write this chapter for the protection of our race.

Chapter V. *Honor due the Classics.*—Some of our extra-canonical books are good, others are pernicious. Let not the bad obscure what is good. Doctrines that tend to disrupt ought not to be followed. Before any work is approved it should be brought to the touchstone of the Holy Canons.

Chapter VI. *Centralization of Power.*—Differentiate between officials and people, but give direction to popular thought. We denounce republicanism as rebellious.

Chapter VII. *The Proper Sequence of Things.*—That which enters first, dominates. A thorough knowledge of Chinese is necessary in order to a Western education. Possessing this knowledge our ancestors will not be forgotten.

Chapter VIII. *Attending to what is Vital.*—

To rejoice in the new is sweet; to love the old is bitter. If we are to preserve Chinese learning, we must find out what is important and hold to it.

Chapter IX. *Cast out the Poison!*—The foreign drug (opium) is debasing the homes and sweeping away the lives of our people. Cut it off, root and branch!

## Part II.—Practical.

Subject: *The Intercourse of Nations a means of Enlightenment.*

Chapter I. *Beneficial Knowledge.*—When unknown foes assail us, we are deluded and meet with disaster.

Chapter II. *Travel.*—Discern the signs of the times, enlarge the mind, broaden the understanding, and increase the skill and knowledge of the Chinese! Without travel in foreign countries these *desiderata* cannot be obtained.

Chapter III. *The Establishment of Schools.*—Establish schools everywhere adapted to the present time, for putting into practice the knowledge of the graduates. Rouse the stupid!

Chapter IV. *The Study of Regulations.*—The strength of Western countries is derived from their government institutions in which the stu-

dents are required to observe stipulated rules. These have the power of conferring official rank. We should establish such institutions on the best approved methods.

Chapter V. *The Extensive Translation of Books.*—The benefits derived from the instruction of Western teachers have their limits. Those which follow the translation of foreign books are boundless.

Chapter VI. *Newspaper Reading.*—It is difficult to see one's own eyebrows and eyelashes, and hard to take bitter medicine. Be sensible of moral corruption and cast it out at once! Have a knowledge of outside evil and prepare a defence!

Chapter VII. *Reform of Methods.*—Self-preservation demands something more than our old inherited principles.

Chapter VIII. *Railways.*—Commerce is the blood and breath of a nation.

Chapter IX. *Comparative Study.*—Know how to combine the gist of Western learning with Chinese learning, in order to enlighten dense ignorance.

Chapter X. *Maintaining the Army.*—The despicable teaching of ease and lust is suicidal.

Chapter XI. *Religious Toleration.*—The out-

breaks of petty malignity against different sects defeat great schemes and are to be deplored.

The corollaries of these Twenty Chapters may be briefly comprehended in

### Five Objects of Knowledge.

1. Know the shame of not being like Japan, Turkey, Siam, and Cuba.

2. Know the fear that we will become as India, Annam, Burmah, Korea, Egypt, and Poland.

3. Know that if we do not change our customs we cannot reform our methods, and if we do not reform our methods we cannot utilize the modern implements of war, etc.

4. Know what is important. The study of the old is not urgent; the call for men of attainments in useful knowledge is pressing. Foreign education is of different kinds. Western handicraft is not in demand, but a knowledge of the methods of foreign governments is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

5. Know what is radical. When abroad, do not forget your own native country; when you see strange customs, do not forget your parents; and let not much wisdom and ingenuity make you forget the holy sages.

It will be seen then that the purport of what we have written accords well with the Doctrine of the Mean. Long ago, when the kingdom of Lu was in a weak condition, Duke Ai [B.C. 550] inquired of Confucius about government. He replied: "To be fond of learning is the next thing to knowledge. To be up and doing comes near to perfection. Know what shame is, and you will not be far from heroism." Finally the sage said: "If these principles can be carried out, although one may be stupid, yet he will become clever; although weak, he will attain to strength." These maxims were spoken in the time of Lu. How much more urgent are they now when China has become great, with her almost limitless territory and her teeming population of four hundred millions!

At the outset of this Preface We referred to a state of things that existed in the time of Ch'u. This is because We are apprehensive, lest the officials and gentry accustomed to a life of *otium cum dignitate* should be indifferent to the impending perils which now threaten the Empire; and, fearing that they will impatiently cast the subject aside and not seek to renew our strength, we call their attention to what Confucius enunciated. The Book of Changes [B.C. 2800] says:

"Though threatened by overthrow, we still cling fast to safety." Let us fully realize the magnitude of the danger and then we will put forth our most strenuous efforts to avert it.

*Written by*

CHANG CHIH-TUNG,

*of Nan-p'i.*

# PART I

# MORAL

## CHAPTER I

### UNITED HEARTS

WHEN Fan Wen-chang was a mere youth he was so patriotic as to feel that the responsibility of the government rested upon himself. The philosopher Ch'eng said: "If real altruism existed in the heart of only one official, some amount of good would be sure to follow." Another sage has it: "Every man in the Empire, however humble and despised he may be, has some duty to perform to his government." How circumscribed would be the responsibility of one graduate, the altruism of one official, or the duty of a single individual! But if by one determined purpose the hearts of *all* the graduates, the officials and the men of China were united, our country would rest upon a great rock and we could defy the world to overthrow us. To attain this object it is necessary first that every man should fulfil his duty to his parents and elders. The country would then be at peace. And if every Chinese would but exer-

cise his wisdom and courage the Empire would become strong.

Generally speaking, our government institutions are used in times of peace and prosperity for the encouragement of learning, and our officials are employed for the maintenance of power. Thus by favor of the Court the capabilities of the people are enlarged. But when danger and distress threaten to overwhelm the country, the mandarins maintain a rigid chastity and the people stand ready for her defence. Great plainness of speech is employed by the counsellors of the sovereign, and the best wisdom of the Empire is called forth to meet the issue. There is one great purpose in the hearts of all: to save the country from corruption; and the strength of the land is concentrated in order to guard against the impending evil. Thus the resources of the people are exhibited and the Court is freed from anxious care.

We would here state that there are now three things necessary to be done in order to save China from revolution. The first is to *maintain the reigning Dynasty;* the second is to *conserve the Holy Religion;* and the third is to *protect the Chinese Race.* These are inseparably connected; in fact they together constitute one; for in order to protect the Chinese Race we must first conserve

the Religion, and if the Religion is to be conserved we are bound to maintain the Dynasty. But, it may be asked, how can we protect the Race? We reply, by knowledge; and knowledge is religion; and religion is propagated by strength; and strength lies in the troops. Consequently, in countries of no prestige and power the native religion is not followed, and in kingdoms that are not prosperous the native race is held in light esteem by their more fortunate neighbors. Mohammedanism is unreasonable, but Turkey is fierce and warlike, so Mohammedanism survives. Buddhism is near the truth, but India is stupid and foolish, and Buddhism perishes. Nestorianism waned because Persia grew weak, and the old Greek religion is dying out for the same reason. Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have been propagated over three-fifths of the globe by military power.

Our Holy Religion has flourished in China several thousand years without change. The early Emperors and Kings embellished our tenets by their noble examples and bequeathed to us the rich legacy which we now possess. The sovereigns were the teachers. The Han, the T'ang and all the Chinese Dynasties to the Ming [embracing a period of 1800 years], honored and revered the re-

ligion of Confucius. Religion is the government, and the Emperors of our Dynasty honor Confucianism with a still greater reverence. It was the sages who purged the heresy from the Classics and handed them down to us in compiled form. The Emperors themselves follow the truth and then instruct all in the Empire, so that every one that has breath knows how to honor and how to love. For government and religion are inseparably linked together and constitute the warp of the past and present, the woof of intercommunication between China and the West.

The foundations of our State are deep and durable. Protected by Heaven, the superstructure will certainly stand secure! But supposing this absurd gossip about the partition of China by Europeans were true and the country were cut up, be it ever so exalted and excellent, would foreigners respect the Holy Doctrine of Confucius? Far from it. The Classics of the Four Philosophers would be thrown out as refuse, and the Confucian cap and gown would never more cherish the hope of an official career. Our clever scholars would figure as clergymen, compradores, and clerks, whilst the common people would be required to pay a poll-tax and be used as soldiers, artisans, underlings, and servants. That is what

would happen. And the more menial our people became, the more stupid they would be; until being both menial and stupid, they would become reduced to wretched poverty and at last perish miserably. Our Holy Religion would meet the same fate that Brahmanism in India did. Its adherents would be found skulking away, or crouching among the cavernous hills, but clinging fast the while to some tattered remnants of the truth! The Flowery People would become like the black Kwun Lun of the Southern Ocean, the life-long slaves of men, vainly seeking an escape from the curses and blows of their masters.*

Under the present circumstances there is nothing for it but to arouse ourselves to the situation. Let us display our loyalty and love and embrace every opportunity to become wealthy and strong; let our first object be the veneration of the Imperial Court which vouchsafes its protection to the commonwealth, and let those who hold the reins of government consider the general good. At this critical time the confidential advisers of the Emperor should be candid and truthful men, who will make it their business to give warning on the slightest approach of danger. The high officers

* See Appendix, "The Position of Chang Chih-tung."

on the frontier should see that the sinews of war are adequate to meet the occasion. The generals and commanders should make clear what the feeling of shame is and teach their troops the art of war. The soldiers and people should all cherish an affection for their superiors and lay down their lives for their elders. The *literati* should become conversant with the things of the times. Thus, if the Emperor and the ministers of China become united in heart, and the people combined in strength, will not the Records of the Chu and Sü [Confucianism] and the descendants of the gods [Chinese] have something on which to depend? There are many patriots in these gloomy times who believe that the mere reverence of Confucian *belles lettres* will protect our religion. Others hold that concerted action alone can conserve the race. These lose sight of the fact that our safety lies in maintaining all three together: the State, the Religion, and the Race; the State first, for this is fundamental. The *Tso Chuan* [A *vade mecum* of the Chinese *literati*] aptly says: "If the skin perishes, where is the good of minding about the hair?" And Mencius says: "If the sovereign possess the power to rule the commonwealth justly, who would dare insult him?" And Mencius is right.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE INCULCATION OF LOYALTY.

No Dynasty since the Han [about the beginning of the Christian era] and T'ang has exhibited a greater benevolence toward its subjects than this our Holy Ts'ing. Among many advantages conferred upon the people by this beneficent Government we enumerate several below.

There has been a marked decrease in taxation. The old system under which the people were required to labor *gratis* at certain times, and to pay a poll-tax, has been abolished; and only land is assessed. Formerly the taxes were remitted in certain localities; now the people of whole provinces and, on many occasions, of the whole Empire, are, by an act of grace on the part of the sovereign, exempted from this burden. In times of adversity, such as floods and famine, our sovereigns have displayed a generosity far greater than their predecessors, contributing millions of taels to the suffering multitudes. The laborers employed by the Government on public works al-

ways receive pay. Then, there is a clemency shown to the merchant class that was unknown to the earlier Dynasties, who forced these men to sell at "mandarin" prices, below the market value. In Soochow and Hangchow the Imperial looms weave silk for the use of the Court, and in Canton and other places wood-work is produced. The weavers and artificers all receive good profit on their outlay. Laws that formerly exacted heavy tribute of precious things, food-stuffs, etc., exist now only in name. Our Dynasty receives such things as ink-slabs, wood, incense, oranges, lichees, etc., from Canton; paper, fans, pencils, ink, medicine, etc., from Kiangsu; and bamboo shoots, mugwort, yellow cloth, etc., from Hupeh. But these are all amply paid for, and the merchants in these provinces are not burdened on account of the tribute.

It was once the case that when the prince went abroad on his travels throughout the Empire, the people were put to great inconvenience and expense, and all within the four seas were in a flutter of excitement. Now the sovereign never leaves the capital except to observe the river works, or to witness and relieve the ravages of famine. On these occasions, instead of being a burden to the people, he remits their taxes, and the

expenses of his journey are borne by the officials, or the salt gabelle.

Our people are not forced to serve as soldiers. Enlistment is a voluntary act, and the troops are paid for their services. Our Dynasty acts in accordance with the exigency of affairs, and to-day the laws are equitably carried into effect, and where other Emperors have been cruel, the kindness of this Dynasty may be likened to that of Heaven. The penal laws are against the extermination of whole tribes, the mutilation of criminals, and extortions of confession by torture.* If these laws are infringed, the delinquent official loses his position. A discrimination is made be-

*This is the law, but not always the practice. We need not exclaim in horror at this when we remember what happened in the time of James I., when the brilliant Francis Bacon was Lord Chancellor of England. "An aged clergyman," says Macaulay, "of the name of Peacham was accused of treason on account of some passages of a sermon which was found in his study. The sermon, whether written by him or not, had never been preached. It did not appear that he had any intention of preaching it. The most servile lawyers in those servile times were forced to admit that there were great difficulties both as to the facts and as to the law. Bacon was employed to remove those difficulties. But in order to convict Peacham it was necessary to find facts as well as law. Accordingly, this wretched old man was put to the rack, and, while undergoing the horrible infliction, was examined by Bacon, but in vain. No confession could be wrung out of him; and Bacon wrote to the king, complaining that Peacham had a dumb devil . . . and Peacham was suffered to languish away the short remainder of his life in a prison."—TRANSLATOR.

tween clear and circumstantial evidence. Doubtful cases are referred to higher authority, with recommendation to mercy. The infliction of one hundred blows of the bamboo has been changed to forty, and in summer to thirty-two. The young and the old are leniently dealt with, and if a criminal be an only child he is spared the clutches of the law in order to support his parents. Laws relating to banishment with hard labor and privation have been abolished; and the family of capital criminals is not extirpated. The females in an offending official's family are allowed to redeem themselves.

Our Government cares for the Chinese abroad. Some years ago a special minister was sent to look after the interest of the coolies who had been kidnapped to Cuba, and the Chinese laborers who were being oppressed in America. A convention in which the Chinese were to be protected from further cruelty was agreed to. This Dynasty has never been ambitious of conquest by murder and rapine. It holds scholars in high esteem, repeals unjust laws and encourages the people to loyalty, by honoring the posterity of officials who lose their lives in the service of their country. The Holy Emperors have for more than two hundred and fifty years preserved intact the laws

which relate to the family and the heart, and have handed them down to us. The ministers and people daily bask in the smiles of Imperial favor, and to the present day receive their never-failing supplies from our sovereign's bounty. Examine the history of China for 2,000 years back and then compare it with the Western history of fifty years! Does the government of these foreign countries present such a record of generosity, benevolence, loyalty, and honesty as ours?

Although China is not so wealthy and powerful as the West, her people of whatever condition, rich or poor, high or low, all enjoy a perfect freedom and a happy life. Not so all the inhabitants of Western lands. Their governments may be strong, but the lower classes of the people are miserable, unhappy, and maliciously wronged. Their liberties are restrained, and there is no redress. They rise in rebellion on every opportunity, and not a year passes without an account of the murder of some king or the stabbing of some minister. These governments certainly cannot be compared with our China.

Let us then, the grateful officials and the virtuous people of the Emperor, remain loving and loyal in these times of danger, and let each man consider the Empire as a part and parcel of himself. Let

us not heed, but on the contrary oppose most strenuously, all the incendiary talk of violence which is heard nowadays, and is in itself a crime against the Emperor, and which, if persisted in, will inaugurate a reign of anarchy. Let us avoid it as we do some defilement; let us hate it as the birds hate the kites and hawks which pursue them. Heaven will protect a nation obedient to the wishes of its sovereign. And have we a people devoid of conscience like those satirized in the Book of Poetry?*

* The plain, prose meaning of this metaphorical Ode is that the people alluded to were without conscience, always seeking a place; that they were like an ancient horse who fancied himself still youthful, but did not consider that he was unable to perform the duty required of a colt, etc.—TRANSLATOR.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE THREE MORAL OBLIGATIONS.

It must be borne in mind that the Viceroy is writing solely for his own countrymen and not for outsiders, and that his readers, whilst highly educated from a Chinese view-point, are densely ignorant of European manners and customs. It is a pitiable fact that the great majority of the Chinese regard us as brute beasts; and it is popularly understood that all countries outside the limits of China possess no laws regulating the marriage and other relations. This Chapter is a sincere attempt to enlighten the crass ignorance of the author's countrymen on this point.

The subjects of the Flowery Kingdom do not call their country "China," but *Chung Kwoh*, or "Middle Kingdom." It is incorrect to say that this is because the people believe that China lies in the middle of the earth. Chang Chih-tung rightly says that the name is derived from "The Doctrine of the Middle," which is an important section of their canonical "Four Books." The principles of the Chinese do not go beyond, and do not fall short of, what is just and right. The "Middle Kingdom" is therefore so called because its organization was supposed to be perfect and complete. We Americans proudly imagine that our country is *E pluribus UNUM*.—TRANSLATOR.

THE Sovereign is the head of the Subject, the Father is the head of the Son, and the Husband is the head of the Wife. These tenets have been handed down from the sages, and as Heaven does not change, so they never change. They constitute the first of the Five Relations and the main-

spring of every act. Coming down to us from hoary antiquity, the observance of them has ever marked the sage, and it is because of them that China is the "Middle Kingdom." For these tenets neither fall short of, nor go beyond, what is right. Know then, that the obligation of subject to sovereign is incompatible with republicanism; that the duties a son owes to a father conflict with the talk about the father and son being amenable to the same punishment and the abolition of mourning for, and sacrificing to, one's parents; and that the true relation which exists between man and wife is utterly at variance with the prattle about a man and woman having equal power.

Now, we have examined somewhat into the methods of Western Governments. They have their Lords and Commons, their Senates and Representatives, which hold their prerogatives in State matters. But we have noticed that the Sovereign, or the President, retains the power of dissolving these assemblies; and in case one assembly does not suit him he exercises this power, dismisses the obnoxious body and convenes another. A Constitutional Government with a Sovereign, and a Republic are about the same. In the West the intercourse of Sovereign, Ministers,

and People is easy, the rules of deportment meagre, and the needs of the people are communicated to the sovereign with rapid facility; but the bearing or dignity of the Western Prince is not to be compared with that of the Chinese Emperor. Western people, however, love their sovereigns more than the Chinese do theirs, and, although they may leave home and live abroad thousands of miles from their native land, they do not disobey their country's laws, or defraud their rulers. Foreigners living in China take a personal interest in the affairs of their own nation. If their country meets with prosperity or adversity, success or failure, joy or sorrow, they are affected accordingly, just as though the event had happened to themselves. It is a mistake, then, to suppose that Western countries do not maintain the doctrine of the Relation of Subject to Sovereign.

Again, in the Mosaic Decalogue the duty of honoring one's parents is placed next to that of worshipping Heaven, and foreigners also put on mourning for deceased parents and wear black bands as the badge. Although they have no such things as ancestral halls and tablets of deceased relatives, in lieu of these they place the photographs of their dead parents and brothers on the

tables in their houses and make offerings to them. And while they make no sacrifices at the tombs of their ancestors, they repair their graves and plant flowers upon them as an act of worship. It will be seen, then, that Western people also hold, in common with us, the Relation of Father and Son.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery" is another of the Ten Commandments. Western society permits the platonic intermingling of the sexes. The restraints which are thrown around women may seem lax to a Chinese, but we must remember that a European sets a low price on a whoremonger, and there are rules of lawful matrimony in their countries. Consanguineous marriages are forbidden. The laws of kinship proscribe the intermarriage of the descendants of parents back seven generations.

Only the men dress in coarse cloth. The women wear embroidered silks, and can, with perfect propriety, act as hostesses at dinner-parties. This latter was done in China also during the Ts'i Dynasty. Women are allowed to choose their own husbands, but the parents must be consulted before making the engagement; this is always done before the marriage is consummated. A European cannot legally take a concubine. This is entirely different from Chinese custom.

So it is a false imputation to say that foreigners make no difference between men and women; they love and adore their wives too much, we should say; but they do not employ them in government or military affairs, Parliament, Congress, or in manufactories. We point out the fact, then, that Western countries possess the Relation of Husband and Wife.

The sage is the outcome of the perfect practice of the Five Relations; and it was our sages who established the rules of propriety based on the affections. Although these rules are "few and far between" in Western countries, still foreigners have not abolished altogether the idea of etiquette.

Sincerity is the norm of Heaven and the law of our nature. China and the West agree on this point, for without sincerity no human prince could ever found a state, and no earthly teacher could ever establish a religion. But there is a class of stupid and ignorant whippersnappers with a mere superficiality of wisdom who exalt the excellence of Western administration, schools, manners, and customs above those of China. These fellows seem desirous of abolishing altogether our religion and our administration, and substituting in their place the immature governments and brusque

manners of the foreigners. In their food, drink, attire, amusements, and in the ordering of their women, they ape the Western man in every detail. And the Western man laughs!

But worst of all, when Chinese *literati* meet according to appointment they must adopt a time regulation * called "seven-day worship." This "worship day" [Sunday] is called Sing Ch'i; the steam factories, etc., stop work at this time, and the workmen are compelled to rest. We have recently heard a rumor that in some of the foreign Treaty Ports a movement has been inaugurated to abrogate the Three Moral Obligations, the real intent and purpose of which is to give free rein and license to the evil passions of its promoters. Nothing could be worse than this, and the thought makes one tremble. China has never possessed a government founded on such outrageous principles. The West acknowledges no religion supported by such pernicious tenets. A hybrid scheme indeed! Our own opinion is that the countries of the world will combine to stop such an outrageous proceeding.

* The hebdomadal division of time, introduced by the missionaries into China, has been found so convenient that the Chinese are rapidly adopting it.—TRANSLATOR.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RECOGNITION OF CLASS

THE doctrine of race distinction has been handed down to us from the ancients. The Book of Changes says: "A clever body can detect nationality by the man," and the Tso Chuan: "If one is not of my nationality his heart is essentially different. The gods do not accept the oblations of an alien race, and the people do not sacrifice to the *manes* of foreigners." And the Book of Rites says: "Every creature of intelligence knows how to love its own kind." But it was only our god-like Confucius who could say: "Given instruction, there will be no distinction of class." The Emperors of our Middle Flowery Kingdom, ruling with supreme, unbounded sway, can alone instruct without regard to class. None else are able.

Foreigners divide the people of the five great continents into five classes—the White race of Europe, the Yellow race of Asia, the Black race of Africa, the Dark-brown race of India, and the primitive Red race of America. The Europeans

are subdivided. The Russians are Slavs; the English, Prussians, Austrians, and Dutch are Germans; the French, Italians, etc., are Romans. The enlightened Americans came originally from England, and are classed as whites. The people of each race have their national characteristics, and mutually affiliate. China is bounded on the west by the Kw'un Lun Mountains, on the east by the sea, on the south by the Southern Ocean, and on the north by Feng T'ien, Kirin, the Amoor River, and Mongolia. On the south, lying on the sea, are Annam, Siam, and Burmah; on the west the Three Indias; on the east are seagirt Corea and Japan (separated by channels). And these countries comprise the continent of Asia, the people of which are known as the Yellow race, and all have once been under the farfamed instruction of China's ancient Emperors. The people of Asia are the descendants of the gods, called before the Sui Dynasty in Buddhist books *Chentan.* The Western people dub the Chinese "Mongolians" from the fact that they first had intercourse with us in the Yuen Dynasty. Russians call us *Kitans,**

* Kitans, or Khitans-Tartars, who ruled Northern China 907–1115 A.D., under the name of the Liao Dynasty. Hence the word *Cathay,* corrupted through Persian, used by Marco Polo as *Kitai,* to designate China generally.—GILES.

which is an evidence that the Chinese are the same race as other Asiatics. The countries of Asia are so situated in the world that the climate is fine; cold and heat being equally distributed; the people are naturally well-gifted, possessing genteel customs and peaceful and friendly manners. From of old we have been called most honorable, most great, and most happily governed. The highest degree of culture was reached in the Chow [B.C. 1122–255] Dynasty. Then began the decline about which Confucius grieved. The Dynasties following had no powerful neighbors to strive against, but heaped up large treasures of literary lore at the expense of power. This accumulation produced the hollowness of forms, and this in turn begat weakness.

Not so all the countries of Europe. These were opened up at a late period in history, fresh and vigorous. Surrounded by strong neighbors, they were always in circumstances of desperate competition, stripped for a fight and ever striving to escape destruction. Continual apprehension produced determination, and determination begat strength. Of all countries China alone has for these fifty years proved herself almost irreclaimably stupid and not awake. Many of the officials and people are proud and indolent. They con-

tentedly rest in the belief that the old order of things will suffice for these dangerous times, and in the end become the easy prey of outsiders. But China is not lacking in men who have begun to arouse themselves for their country's deliverance. How different are these patriots from that class who are blinded to the situation, and, regardless of the welfare of the country, hold that if China is partitioned by foreigners it will not affect their wealth and position. And so they take advantage of the crisis to fill their own pockets, in order to form partnerships with foreigners when the crash comes, be "Western merchants" themselves, or be naturalized abroad. These disgruntled people go so far as to assert in a vicious manner that China is incapable of action, and that the Holy Religion is effete. They are willing to cast off their own friends and associates, to affiliate with foreigners and adopt foreign ways. They rest in the hope that China will change in some manner, and that they will be protected by aliens. Good patriots consider such men rebellious. Intelligent men regard them as fools.

India is a dependency of England. The natives of India are eligible as soldiers and petty officers, but are not allowed to hold high positions in the army, and they cannot enter the institutions of

learning. Annam is tributary to France; the Chinese in that country are compelled to pay a poll tax. Not so the foreigners. The Chinese are not allowed to travel without passports. Not so the foreigners. Cuba is a dependency of Spain. The natives are not allowed to enter their Halls of Legislation. When America was first opened up, much dependence was placed on Chinese labor. Now when that country has become rich and prosperous, Chinese labor is restricted, while that of other foreigners is allowed.

Not many years ago a certain Chinese official absconded with about half a million in gold of public funds. He placed this sum in a German bank. Dying soon after, the bank thereupon cancelled the account and kept this sum for themselves, giving only a small interest to the relatives of the deceased.

A sensible man will not repudiate his country because, forsooth! there are some things in it that he does not like.

## CHAPTER V.

### HONOR DUE THE CLASSICS

[As this chapter might prove tedious to the general reader we omit it, stating merely that it consists largely of a dissertation on books, many of which belong to a hoary antiquity. The value of all literature, His Excellency repeats, should be tested by Confucian and Mencian scales.—TRANSLATOR.]

## CHAPTER VI

### CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

THERE is a class of Chinese in the country just now who have become impatient and vexed with the present order of things. They chafe at the insults offered to us by foreigners, the impotency of the mandarins in war, and the unwillingness of the high officials to reform our mercantile and educational methods: and they would lead any movement to assemble the people together for the discussion of a republic. Alas! where did they find this word that savors so much of rebellion? A republic, indeed! There is not a particle of good to be derived from it. On the contrary, such a system is fraught with a hundred evils. These evils we will now demonstrate. The first thing necessary in a republic is a Parliament, and it is said that China ought to establish a House. Against such a proceeding we say that the Chinese officials and people are obstructive as well as stupid. They understand nothing about the affairs of the world at the present time, are utterly ignorant of the details and intricacies of civil gov-

ernment. They have never heard of the demand for foreign schools, government, military tactics, and machinery. With such men as members, what a brilliant Parliament it would be! A vast amount of good would come from such a hubbub as this assembly would make, with perhaps one sensible man in the lot, and the rest a set of fools! Then the power of adopting ways and means, etc., is vested in the Lower House. Legislation and matters of that kind are effected by the Upper House. To obtain a seat in Parliament the candidate must possess a fairly good income. Chinese merchants do not possess these qualifications. They are not wealthy, and the experience of the people in legislative matters is very limited. Now, if any important measures were to come up for discussion, army supplies for instance, in a Parliament constituted of these unqualified members, a deadlock would ensue at once. Discussion or non-discussion would be all the same, for these M.Ps. would be ignorant of the matter in hand; they would have no knowledge to carry the appropriation bill, and no money to pay the appropriation if the bill were carried.* A useless institution, indeed!

*The Viceroy has the idea that the members of a Parliament are drawn largely from the merchant class, and that these personally defray all the expenses incurred in the prosecution of war.—TRANSLATOR.

Then it is said that under a republic the Chinese can establish mercantile companies and build factories. And what is to hinder them from doing this under the present Government? There is no law to hinder the launching of such enterprises. The truth is that the merchants of China are skilled in trickery, and we have again and again cases where bogus shares have been put on the market to defraud people. If there were no official power to restrain and punish these evil-doers, the company alone would realize any profit; but where would the shareholders be? Or if a manufactory was started, and there were no official power to check the counterfeiting of trade-marks, or to quiet the brawls of the workmen, who would intervene?

The same may be said about the establishment of schools. Our laws have ever encouraged the opening of colleges, schools, and benevolent institutions by wealthy *literati,* and why ask for a republic to bring about this end? But supposing these were established, and there was no official power whatever which would confer rank on the graduates or grant their stipends; with no hope of rank or stipend, who would enter any institution established on this basis?

Again, it is said that we ought to institute a

republic in order to drill troops to resist the encroachments of foreigners. But we have no arsenals or dockyards, and if ships and arms were purchased abroad, they could not be brought into a Chinese port if China was a republic, for in that case there would be no officials, and they could not be classed as "official material." An army formed under these conditions would be a noisy, cowardly flock of crows, utterly incapable of fighting a single battle. But taking for granted that this Falstaff regiment could exert itself, who would levy supplies if there were no official power? And who would go security for a foreign loan if there were no government?

We confess that China is not a powerful nation, but the people under the present government get along very well by themselves; if this republic is inaugurated, only the ignorant and foolish will rejoice. For rebellion and anarchy will come down upon us like night, and massacre will seal our eternal grave. Even those who establish the republic will not escape. Murder and rapine will hold sway in city and village. The burning of churches will follow, and under the pretext of protection, the foreigners will send troops and men-of-war to penetrate the far interior of our country and slice off our territory to be foreign

dependencies, which we, perforce, submissively grant. This talk about a republic is very agreeable to the adversaries of China.*

Years ago the Government of France was changed from a monarchy to a republic. The common people rose against the upper class, because the rulers were vicious and the Government cruel. Our Emperor is exceedingly humane, our laws are not oppressive, and it is folly to introduce these democratic ideas to bring manifold calamities upon China. We have studied the philosophy of these republics, and find that translators of foreign books have wrongly interpreted the word "republic" by *Ming Ch'uen* [literally "people power"]. For the people in the republics of the West only have the right to *discuss* measures, and not to carry these measures into execution. Americans resident in China inform us that the ballot-box in their country is greatly abused for personal ends, and Chinese admirers of the American Republic have not minutely examined its defects.

There are many to-day who have only a smat-

* It is a great mistake to suppose that foreigners would be satisfied if China refused to pay unjust claims, on the ground that the people are unwilling, or that the laws do not apply to the case. The foreigners would wrench the claim from us by force.

tering of Western ways, but who speak confidently of the "power of personal liberty." This is preposterous. The idea is derived from the books of the foreign religion, which say that *Shangti** bestows upon each individual certain mental and spiritual faculties, and that every man in consequence possesses intelligence and knowledge which enable him to act freely. This means, say the translators, that every human being has a personal liberty. A greater mistake was never made! All the empires and republics of the West have governments of some kind, and the duties of officials, soldiers, and workmen are clearly prescribed. They have also lawyers and judges. Both officials and people are bound by the laws. What the Court recommends can be debated by the Parliament, but what the Parliament decides can be vetoed by the Court. How then can we say that men have personal liberty? Every market town has its elder to keep the peace, every band of robbers its chief. So every Government has its rules. If each individual possessed this "liberty," every family and village would serve its personal ends. The scholar would always sit at meat and

* The word used in the Chinese Classics to express the Superior Being. Used by most missionaries for God.—TRANSLATOR.

do nothing else, the farmer would pay no taxes, the merchant would grow rich beyond bounds, the workman would raise his own wages, the *sans culotte* would plunder and rob, the son would disobey the father, the student would not follow the teacher, the wife would not obey the husband, the low would not defer to the high, the strong would force the weak, and mankind would soon be annihilated. There is no such government on this round earth. There is no such custom even among the heathen. The English word *liberty*, which means "just in everything and beneficial to all," is mistranslated. The "Liberty Club" that now exists in foreign countries should be called the "Debating Society." * If we wish to make China powerful and capable of resisting foreign nations, we must cherish loyalty and righteousness and unite ourselves under the Imperial dignity and power. This is the unchangeable truth of the past and the present, both in China and abroad. If it be urged that we give up the idea of a republic, but establish the Parliament, we reply that our present system is, to all intents and purposes, a re-

* The Viceroy is fairly adrift on this point, but it is refreshing to know that His Excellency, who speaks little English, is trying his hand at translation.—TRANSLATOR.

public now. The ancient custom practically meets the case. If the Government encounters difficult questions the Great Ministers are called upon to help settle them; and the people can apprise the rulers of their needs and wants through the appointed channels. The present Dynasty is open and above-board in its dealings, and if our Chinese subjects are loving and loyal there need be no fear that the Emperor will not find out about them and supply all their real wants. The people have the right of discussing questions now, although the rulers retain the prerogative of settling them. This is done with reference to the best interests of all. Why is a Parliament demanded then, when we already have this institution in effect? If it were established, pray where would the members come from? Let us wait until our educational institutions are in full swing, and the capabilities of our men are tested by daily experience, and then consider the matter. The present is not the time.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE PROPER SEQUENCE OF THINGS

In order to render China powerful, and at the same time preserve our own institutions, it is absolutely necessary that we should utilize Western knowledge. But unless Chinese learning is made the basis of education, and a Chinese direction given to thought, the strong will become anarchists, and the weak, slaves. Thus the latter end will be worse than the former. The English newspapers have recently been ridiculing us for not reforming, and they state that the teachings of Confucius lie at the bottom of our inflexible conservatism. In this they are greatly mistaken. Those who have translated the Four Books and Five Classics into foreign languages, have missed the true intent of Confucianism by accepting the explanations of inefficient Chinese instructors who know nothing whatever of our doctrine. These newspapers get their information from these translated books, and ridicule what they know nothing about. The superficial Chinese commentaries

which pass current for truth, the unconnected, non-cohesive eight-legged essays, the effete philosophies, countless antiquarian works, false but high-sounding poetry of China, are not Confucian learning. And the stereotyped rules of deportment which are prescribed by the "master of ceremonies," and followed by Chinese officials, are heresies from the school of Han Fei and Li Sze * which had their origin in the stormy times of Ts'in. The vulgar herd of Chinese officials who observe these forms, make a virtue of obstructiveness and cloak their laziness in matters of vital importance by "quieting the people," as it is called. On the ground of "nourishing the constitution of the state," they continue their malpractices; and it is said that these constitute the Confucian government! We characterize this system as the teaching of Lao Tsz,† the tail-ends of previous Dynasties, and the device by which slippery officials carry on their trade. Emphatically, it is not that mode of government recommended by our Great Sage.

Confucian learning consists in the acquisition of extensive literature and the strict observance of

* Officers under Emperor Ts'in (B.C. 255), who is cordially detested by all Chinese.—TRANSLATOR.

† The founder of Taoism.—TRANSLATOR.

what is right; in the profound and careful meditation of the old in order to understand the new; in the making of one's self the peer of heaven by means of perfect sincerity and thus influencing men in all things for good.

Confucian government consists in rendering honor to whom honor is due, and filial piety to whom filial piety is due; in first providing a sufficiency for the people, and afterward instructing them; in preparing for war in time of peace, and in doing things at the proper time and in the proper manner. Confucius is equal to the thousand sages and the hundred kings. He is the co-equal and the co-worker with heaven and earth in nourishing and transforming men and things. How, then, can it be said that he is like the effete and inoperative "scholar" of to-day, or in any way similar to the pictures drawn of him by Tao Chih * and others?

Our scholars to-day should become conversant with the Classics, in order to understand the real intent of the early sages and philosophers in establishing our Religion; and a knowledge of history should be acquired in order to become familiar with our Chinese governmental methods and customs in past generations. The literary relics of

* A famous brigand.—TRANSLATOR.

our schoolmen should be reviewed to profit withal, in learning and literature. After this is done, our deficiency in books can be supplied from Western sources, and our government ills be cured by Western physicians. In this way, China can derive benefit from foreign countries, without incurring the danger of adopting Western methods that would be prejudicial to her best interests. A person who wishes to become strong and well must first get up an appetite. This obtained, he will enjoy all the good things set before him. To heal a disease the doctor must first make a diagnosis, and afterward prescribe the proper medicine. In like manner a thorough knowledge of Chinese must be obtained before Western learning is introduced.* In Western educational institutions a daily study of the Bible is compulsory. This shows a respect for the Christian religion. The students in the lower schools first learn Latin in order to preserve what is ancient; and in order to observe the proper sequence of things, a thorough knowledge of the country's geography and a general acquaintance with that of other countries is required. The literature of their schools extols the excellence of their ancient Emperors' gov-

* Chinese unversed in native literature are not qualified to translate books.

ernments; and both in public and private the notes of their music swell forth in praise of the bravery and prosperity of the fatherland. These things manifest the patriotism of Western people.

If the Chinese student is not versed in Chinese literature he is like a man who does not know his own name. Attempts to govern without a knowledge of Chinese, will be like trying to ride a horse without a bridle, or steer a boat without a rudder. Without a basis of native literature the Chinese who acquires this Western learning, will loath his country in proportion as his scientific knowledge increases; and, although his knowledge may be perfected to a high degree, how can our country employ him if he does not know Chinese?

## CHAPTER VIII

### ATTENDING TO WHAT IS VITAL

CONFUCIANISM is in danger! To rescue the truth we must turn our attention to Japan for the present. To obtain help from the past we cannot but glance back to the period of the Warring States. At that time Confucianism was crowded out by heretical sects, because it was said that too much time and labor were required to master the subject, and men catered to what was expedient and in demand. So it is at the present time, and it behooves us to heed the injunction of Mencius to select what is important and leave the rest.

What Confucius meant by *extensive* has a wider significance in these days. In his time men could become renowned by a single attainment. A mere fraction of what is required of present officials would suffice at that time for the conduct of affairs, and literature was meagre. To-day our books are numberless, and one man cannot master them in a lifetime. Now that the sea-waves are dashing upon our shores, unless we keep pace

with the times, and acquire Western learning, we shall be left in the lurch. But under our present curriculum it is impossible to do this. A knowledge of the benefits to be derived from Confucianism cannot be obtained simply by a few years of hard study. If only this time is given to Chinese learning, and Western education is introduced, the former will soon decline; in fact the Canons of our Holy Religion will soon perish. The thought makes us tremble, and, although there are no fires and pits of the Book Burner * now, still there may be the sorrow of the Liang, which nearly extinguished the truth in the time of Wen and Wu. And we are still more apprehensive when we consider the fact that in China to-day there are a great many aimless people who really do not care a straw for education—especially Chinese education—and who go so far as to say that our literature is a bugbear, and speak blasphemously of Confucius. Because our tenets are said to be bulky and inconvenient, many of the followers of these persons would rejoice in the complete extinction of the system. We suggest a method that ought to satisfy this class, and at the same time

* The allusion is to the Emperor Ts'in, who destroyed all the Classics, and buried four hundred scholars alive.—TRANSLATOR.

dispel the doubts of those who imagine they see a difficulty in acquiring Chinese. We reiterate the statement that, in order to preserve our literature, it is imperative to study only that which is important, and do away with the useless rubbish that has accumulated in the lapse of time. Following is a course of study which we have mapped out,* and which is more useful than ornamental:

Scholars of fifteen years and under, to master the Filial Classics, Four Books, Five Classics (true text with remarks and explanations by the teacher), "The Brief Survey of Chinese History," "The Song of Astronomy and Geography," with maps, "The General Literature of the Han, T'ang, and Sung Dynasties," with reference to style and penmanship.

From fifteen years upward the following: Classics (complete), general literature, history, moral philosophy, Chinese government of the present Dynasty within the last one hundred years, with especial reference to the memorials and edicts of the past fifty years; geography of the present time, embracing the physical condition of China—her water-courses, products, provincial capitals,

* The long list of books and commentaries suggested is not rendered.—TRANSLATOR.

canals, roads, strategic points, coast and boundary defences, open ports (old maps and geographies not required, but may be read at leisure)—comparative study of foreign geography, especially that of Russia, France, Germany, England, Japan, and America; a cursory survey of the size, distance, capitals, principal ports, climate, defences, wealth, and power of these (the time required to complete this course, ten days); mathematics (sufficient for a working knowledge in other branches).

It may be said that foreigners excel in mathematics; their knowledge, however, is not confined to this branch. In government affairs, astronomy, geography, chemistry, photology, etc., a certain amount of mathematical skill is necessary.

## CHAPTER IX

### CAST OUT THE POISON

THE Customs' Returns for the past few years give the value of our imports at 80,000,000 Taels, and the exports at 50,000,000 Taels. The balance of *thirty million Taels* represents what has been consumed in smoking the pernicious opium pipe! Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison. Oh, the grief and desolation it has wrought to our people! A hundred years ago the curse came upon us more blasting and deadly in its effects than the Great Flood or the scourge of the Fierce Beasts, for the waters assuaged after nine years, and the ravages of the man-eaters were confined to one place. Opium has spread with frightful rapidity and heart-rending results through the provinces. Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. To-day it is running like wildfire. In its swift, deadly course it is spreading devastation everywhere, wrecking the minds and eating

away the strength and wealth of its victims. The ruin of the mind is the most woful of its many deleterious effects. The poison enfeebles the will, saps the strength of the body, renders the consumer incapable of performing his regular duties, and unfit for travel from one place to another. It consumes his substance and reduces the miserable wretch to poverty, barrenness, and senility. Unless something is soon done to arrest this awful scourge in its devastating march, the Chinese people will be transformed into satyrs and devils! This is the present condition of our country.

The Chinese Government formerly prohibited the use and importation of opium under penalty of death, but the prohibition was of no avail. It was said that the curse came from Heaven, and the efforts of men to escape it would be futile. In these days we look upon the case differently. There *is* a remedy for the evil other than the proscriptions of law. It is said in the Analects, "If the people are to be brought to a state of order by the fear of punishment, they will seek merely to escape the punishment, and have no sense of shame; but if they are reduced to order by what commends itself to their sense of justice, they will preserve the sense of shame and at the same time be reformed." What the enactions of law could

not accomplish, Confucianism will effect. The "Book of Rites" says, "If the philanthropist wishes to convert the people and establish their morals, it must be done by means of Learning." What the Government could not do by prohibition, can be perfected by intellectual and moral suasion. The habit of smoking opium is generated by sloth, and sloth by the want of employment. This want springs from ignorance, and ignorance from having no desirable object of knowledge.

The stock of information possessed by Chinese *literati* is obtained from incomplete commentaries and eight-legged essays; the knowledge possessed by officials is derived from "precedent." The military know nothing beyond the use of a few blunt instruments and the antique methods of ancient warfare which suffices for all their needs. The farmer has no means of deriving any appreciable profit from his land, as he can produce nothing new; the merchant cannot engage in distant trade, and the traveller has no means of easy and rapid transit.

Among the Chinese then, there is no incentive to thought or action, no intercourse among the people, and the condition of things has become stagnant and effete. Effeteness has begotten stupidity, and stupidity, lethargy; lethargy has pro-

duced idleness, and idleness, waste. And these are the reasons the hearts of the Chinese are shot to the core with sensuality and vice! A renaissance of learning would save the world [China] by directing attention from opium to more worthy objects. All classes, the rich and the poor, in city and country, would have something desirable to learn. Even those physically disqualified from going abroad could read the current literature of the day, whilst the strong could learn from travel. The *literati* would become thoroughly conversant with the affairs of the world, and the lower classes would become adepts in their trades.

With such attractive objects of knowledge held out to our people, such as the study of the heavens and the earth and all therein, under modern appliances, who would elect to change the day into the night (as the wretched opium-smoker does) and spend his whole life on a divan, by a lamp, sucking a filthy opium pipe?

Therefore we say, bring learning to the front in order to remedy the opium evil! Many thoughtful Chinese are apprehensive that opium will finally extirpate the race, and efforts are being made to mitigate the curse. Anti-opium societies have been formed in Shanghai and Yangchow. The members of these societies pledge themselves

to refrain from the use of the drug and to exercise their power and influence in repressing the habit in others. Masters prohibit their servants from smoking, teachers their students, generals their troops, landlords their tenants, merchants their assistants, and foremen their journeymen.

But this method, although very commendable, does not reach the large class of wealthy and influential officials and gentry who are addicted to the use of opium; nor does it affect the lower orders who can leave their temperate masters, find employment elsewhere and still continue the practice. Again, our officials are always on the move from one post to another; their influence is not permanent, and there is an unwillingness on their part to leave off opium. The plan of reformation by learning, which we recommend, will only reach men of discernment and the younger class. The foolish and wayward we will deal with as best we can. Confirmed smokers will have to be let alone as no power on earth can save them. Rightly administered it will do much to bring about the desired result. In ten years the young and wealthy men will have grown up and become established in life and qualified to control the actions of their subordinates. In twenty years more, opium will be eradicated,

In the provinces of China, societies for the promotion of Learning have already been extensively formed. We suggest an anti-opium annex to these bodies with strict rules forbidding admission to all opium-smokers under forty years of age. What grand results would follow if each household, each village, and each institution of learning in the Empire would discountenance the use of opium! Then would the winter of our distress be made glorious summer by the coming of better times for China. Now is the time for action. Confucius says, "Know what shame is, and you will not be far from heroism;" and Mencius, "If one has not the sense of shame, in what can he be equal to other men?" All the countries of the world recoil with disgust at the idea of smoking this vile, ill-smelling, poisonous stuff. Only our Chinese people love to sleep and eat with the deadly drug, and in the deadly drug we are self-steeped, seeking poverty, imbecility, death, destruction. In all her history China has never been placed in such frightful circumstances. From these we might be delivered if Confucius and Mencius could live again to teach the Chinese a proper sense of shame, and inaugurate a better condition of things for our country now under the power of this awful curse.

# PART II

# PRACTICAL

## CHAPTER I.

### BENEFICIAL KNOWLEDGE.

STUDY begets knowledge and knowledge strength. Confucius says, "Although foolish, one may still obtain a clear perception of things; although weak, one can become strong." There never yet has been a country which became powerful without knowledge. A man by his own strength alone cannot successfully combat a tiger, but by his intelligence he can devise means to entrap him. The strength of a single man is inadequate to resist a flood, or push down a mountain, but his brain can suggest appliances that will arrest the one and cleave the other. Knowledge is wonderful!

But is it true that Western people are intelligent and that the Chinese are dull? Let us see. The continent of Europe consists of many countries, each confronting the other in hostile array, with no balance of power, and resembling a number of fierce tigers herded together, with dripping jaws, each eagerly awaiting an opportunity to tear and

devour. Every effort is made by each to increase its power, and every muscle is strained to the utmost to obtain some advantage over the neighboring country. The rulers call into action every agency that money and means can employ for the attainment of superior strength, and move heaven and earth to accomplish their purpose. Lying near together, the countries of the West are in direct communication with each other by rail and boat; rapid transit furnishes facile communication and produces rapid results. Close and constant competition has wrought a complete change in the aspect of Europe within the last thirty years. Propinquity, armed and watchful, has made European countries what they are to-day: for one will learn extensively from a keen competitor without much effort. In the period of China's history known as the "Contending States" [A.D. 220], when the countries were amalgamated into one on the east of Asia, our people became very expert in the art of war, but our neighbors were the wild tribes near the sea and the Thibetans of the desert, whose education and government were inferior to our own. The old methods which China used centuries ago to keep these neighbors under control, and which were adequate for those times,

have never been changed except for the worse! And we are in contact with the West! What marvel, then, that we find ourselves inferior to foreigners in every respect. If a proper intercourse with Europeans had begun in the reign of the Emperor Kien Lung [about 150 years ago], at which time foreigners were not disdained, the government was stable and no attention was paid to effete counsels; when the ministers had some discernment, and the country was not poverty stricken, we feel confident that an envoy should have been despatched abroad to learn from foreign countries. Had this been done then, the envoy would have returned to put us on our guard and to mortify our silly pride, and we might to-day have excelled European countries in every way. What really happened? Towards the close of the reign of Tao Kwang [about 1840], when we began trade with the West, we had recourse to arms, although at that time Europeans were at the height of power and the Chinese people were weak and stupid! China received a crushing blow. Still she would not awake from her stupidity. Then the Taiping Rebellion broke out and China had no time to concern herself about foreigners. It is true that Commissioner Lin began to prepare some books

relating to Western countries, but he did not finish them. Afterwards Tsen Wen-cheng sent a few students abroad, but they remained only a short time, and did not complete their education. Wen Wen-chung established the T'ung Wen College in Peking, and proposed the despatch of Chinese consuls to different countries. But he was *one*,—a man ahead of his times among many truculent and obstructive conservatives.

China received her first warning in Formosa when the aborigines rebelled, the second in the Liu Ch'ieu Islands, the third in Ili, the fourth in Korea, the fifth in Annam and Burmah, and the sixth in the Japanese war, and the country is now in extreme danger. The warnings have been sent by Heaven to open the eyes of the Chinese, and the Chinese officials and people elect to remain blind, stubborn, and proud as of old. What more can we say?

At the present time it is imperative that Chinese rulers should be thoroughly versed in governmental policy, laws, political economy, commerce, etc.; that the farmer should know about the selection of seeds, the adaptation of soil, farming implements, and fertilizers; that the workman should be skilled in the use of the best

tools and the selection of materials; that the merchant should seek to discover new lands, to manufacture new goods, and to become acquainted with the state of the markets both at home and abroad; and that the soldier should become familiar with ships, arms, forts, batteries, target-practice, and other subjects. All this is not what is called "dangerous knowledge" in the Book of Rites, but is really beneficial to a stable government, and would contribute to education, enrichment, and strength. But China still observes the "old custom" along these lines, and is not willing to strive after something useful, because it is novel. If we do not change soon, what will become of us? European knowledge will increase more and more, and Chinese stupidity will become more dense. We shall be marked as the sure prey of the West; foreigners will still trade with us as before, but China will play a losing game, and get only chaff whilst her competitors garner the wheat, and we shall really, if not openly, become the slaves of Westerners. Not only this, the foreigners will suck our blood and, worse than this, pare the flesh from our bones. To end the tragedy they will swallow us down, body and soul, at one great mouthful, and gloat over the deed!

Knowledge alone can save us from destruction, and the *literati* ought to take the lead in the matter and instruct the farmer, the workman, the merchant, and the soldier in their different spheres; but if the educated class remains ignorant how can this be done? If the Chinese will not learn the true principles of government, all else will be useless. Knowledge is power, and although a country may be weak, still, if it possess but a modicum of knowledge, the enemy will not be able to completely overthrow it; although that country may be in danger, the race will not be extirpated.*

How shall we obtain knowledge? First, putting away all that is *wang;* and by this term we mean stubbornness, empty form, and pride. Secondly, we must get rid of *keu,* that is, our slipshod, drifting habit of depending upon mere fortuity for success. Unless we free ourselves from these, all that is left for the Chinese is to become

"Like dumb, driven cattle,"

* India is a dependency of England; Siberia belongs to Russia; Africa is divided among England, France, and Germany. These countries perished through ignorance. America formerly belonged to Great Britain, but gained her independence through knowledge. Cuba belongs to Spain, but still strives for freedom, because she is not hopelessly stupid.

or like the grass that is trodden down by man. The strength of foreign countries and the weakness of China have been clearly demonstrated to us within the past three years. The *literati* at the ports have been reading the *Wan Kwoh Kung Pao*,* studying certain works translated by foreigners, and associating with the foreign missionaries. Gradually we have found out that the knowledge possessed by the Chinese cannot compare with that of Western people. Discovering this, there are some who lay the sin of withholding the truth from the people at the door of our former Emperors. For the benefit of these stupid people we offer the following remarks. It is a mistake to assert that Chinese government is founded on the pernicious teaching of Lao Tsz which was adopted in the turbulent reign of the Book Burner, and which may be stated in the words of the founder of Taoism: "Truth possessed by the government is not to be employed in the enlightenment of the masses, but is to be used to darken their understanding." The Han Dynasty made every effort to restore the books that Tsin Shi Hwang destroyed; the Emperors honored the Six Classics, advanced

* *The Review of the Times*, a monthly magazine written in Chinese, published in Shanghai, and now edited by the Rev. Young J. Allen, D.D.—TRANSLATOR.

able and worthy men of note in their own domains, and sought to profit by the good in other countries. This certainly was not "darkening the understanding" of the people.

The T'ang dynasty* [A.D. 618–905] instituted a system of examinations embracing a study of over fifty theses, and the Sung [A.D. 950–1278] established colleges and military academies in the principal centres. In the third year of the Emperor Hung Wu the triennial examination halls were opened, and in order to pass, the students were required to understand writing, arithmetic, riding, archery, and law, in addition to the Classics. Nor is this befooling the people. From the Sui Dynasty to the present time a knowledge of poetry, in addition to the Classics, has been required, simply to test the capabilities of the recommended candidate. Whilst we admit that this method has its defects, still it is not darkening the understanding of the people. And our own Holy Dynasty, whilst possessing works on mathematics, astronomy, geography, and agriculture, has provided for the translation of foreign books, established manufactories, arsenals,

*The Hanlin Yuen, or Imperial Academy, which was burned by the Boxers in their efforts to take the British Legation and which crowned the culture of the whole Empire, dates from this period.—TRANSLATOR.

and naval boards, and has frequently sent students to America, England, France, and Germany to study common law, mining, naval, and army tactics, railroading, etc. The Tsung-li Yamen has printed books on law, science, and other subjects, and the Shanghai office has issued over seventy different works that have been translated from foreign sources and that embrace in themselves a library of universal knowledge.

The Court has ever been desirous of breaking the spell of ignorance by which the people are bound, and hopeful that the officials would themselves learn something that would benefit the country; but these have looked upon the new learning with contemptuous disgust and refused to modify their old ideas. Consequently, there has been no widespread translation of books, and no true enlightenment among the people. The greater part of those who went abroad were not bent on learning; hence no real good came of sending them from home. In this way these delinquents recompensed the favor of the Court! Just as an ungrateful and disobedient son, sent to school by his fond parents who spare no expense and begrudge no outlay in providing an abundance of good books and excellent teachers, idles away his time, deceives his instructors, and

grows up in ignorance and poverty. In the end he accuses his father and mother of neglect!

Many of our Chinese no doubt extol foreign learning to the skies, and even go so far as to assert that our government and customs do not possess one redeeming feature. Such scoffers we cannot count as human beings. What! cast reproach upon our own fathers and grandfathers, and impute fault to our honored, hoary-headed *chiliads?* Among all our Chinese Dynasties of Emperors and Kings has there not been one prince who has reigned with conspicuous benevolence? During all these generations has there not been one General, one Minister, one Scholar who deserved the name? And pray what education could Western countries boast of two thousand years ago? And what system of government?

## CHAPTER II.

### TRAVEL.

TRAVEL abroad for one year is more profitable than study at home for five years. It has been well said that seeing is a hundred times better than hearing. One year's study in a foreign institution is better than three years in a Chinese. Mencius remarks that a man can learn foreign things best abroad; but much more benefit can be derived from travel by older and experienced men than by the young, and high mandarins can learn more than petty officials. Some of the ancients were fond of travel. Ts'in Wen-kung went abroad for nineteen years, visiting among the feudal princes, and there were others who did the same for the benefit of their country. But let us turn to the present. The diminutive country of Japan has suddenly sprung into prominence. Ito, Yamagata, Yanomoto, Mutsui and others visited foreign countries twenty years ago and learned a method by which to escape the coercion of Europe. Under their leadership more than one hundred Japanese students were

sent to Germany, France, and England, to learn foreign systems of conducting government, commerce, war, etc. After these had completed their course, they were recalled and employed by the Japanese Government as generals and ministers. When the government was once changed they developed into the Heroes of the Orient.

Not only Japan but other countries have profited by the travels of wide-awake men. Peter the Great of Russia, feeling that the military resources of his country were inadequate, went himself to the dockyards of England and Holland in the capacity of a common workman, where he labored and learned for more than ten years, thus equipping himself with qualifications and experience which afterwards revolutionized Russia and made her what she is to-day, the foremost power of the world.

France has long desired to annex Siam. In 1894 the relations between these two countries became somewhat strained, and France was on the point of gobbling up this morsel, when the King of Siam suddenly changed the governmental system of the country and sent his son to England to study in the Naval Academy. Last year the King himself visited Europe,

and, being acquainted with Western literature and manners, was most cordially received by the representatives of the Great Powers. His son, who has just graduated from the Academy, met the steamer by which the King travelled in the Red Sea amid general rejoicing. The gobbling process was arrested.

We have, then, these three object lessons: First, the case of Russia, next of Japan, and last of Siam. Cannot China follow the *viam mediam* and learn a lesson from Japan? As the case stands to-day, study by travel can better be done in that country than in Europe for the following reasons:

1. Japan lies nearer to us than Europe and more men can be sent there for the same amount of money. 2. The language, literature, and customs of the Japanese are more closely allied to ours than those of any European country. 3. A selection of important Western books has been made from the countless volumes of Europe, and these have been translated into Japanese. Our students could learn what is requisite in half the time by going to Japan, and there is nothing better than this.* If it were deemed advisable,

* In addition to the various parties of students sent last year by the Viceroys Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-yi and the governors of Chekiang and Kiangsi

some students could afterwards be sent to Europe for a fuller course. But some one may say, "Did not China try this plan once without success?" We reply that the students who were placed in American schools were too young; those in the industrial, military, and naval schools of England, France, and Germany were *not properly looked after by the Chinese officials in charge,* and after they returned home no inducement or encouragement was offered them by the Government to continue their studies. Under these conditions how could we expect any satisfactory results?

Others may argue that China has sent plenipotentiaries abroad and they have returned and continued just the same as other Chinese officials. We reply that the selection of those who went to foreign countries was not felicitous. The fact that our old plans miscarried is no argument against the adoption of new ones. Because we

to study in Japanese colleges and schools, as already noted in these columns at the time, it is now reported from Tientsin that Viceroy Yü Lu has also decided to send twenty of the best scholars from the Tientsin College to Japan, at the expense of the Peiyang Administration. *Apropos* of the grandson of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, who went at his own expense to Japan last year with the Hupeh contingent of students, word has been received from Tokyo that this young gentleman has been courteously allowed by the government to join the Nobles', or Peers', school there.—*North China Daily News.*

choked once shall we abolish eating? Did we not expect too much from such a small outlay? No attention whatever should be paid to the pernicious gossip on this subject by certain individuals who would bring down dire calamity upon our homes and upon our country. Study what Mencius says about the Sages, the Emperors, Kings, Ministers, and Generals whose characters were established by repeated contact with danger and difficulty:

"Thus when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his incompetencies." A man born of sorrow and adversity is a true man.

But the Chinese receive insult and do not feel shame; the country is oppressed, but they feel no apprehension; the night of anarchy threatens to shut down upon the nation, but they perceive no danger nor recognize the desperate urgency of the case. Inured to no hardship, and holding merely a perfunctory office, the mandarins consider the following of others' examples a shame-

ful procedure, and look upon the slightest movement towards change with consternation. One sets the example and a hundred follow him.

Among our officials there is not one man of discernment; we have no real scholars and no skilful artisans. We are not represented abroad, and at home have established no schools. So our incompetencies are not supplied. With naught to stimulate the mind, harden the nature, or supply the deficiencies, there seems nothing left for China but to perish miserably in the slough of despond and despair. And who is sufficient for these things?

## CHAPTER III

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS

THIS year, at the special examinations in Peking, it was found that only a very few could pass. This was because the themes for the essays were different from the old *régime;* and although the candidates had prepared themselves sufficiently, as they thought, on these subjects, still their papers did not meet the approval of the Emperor. Last year an Imperial decree ordered the establishment of schools in each province of China, but the time allotted for the accomplishment of this was too limited to collect the requisite funds and students, and the plan only partially succeeded. It was something like a workman seeking for wood when he had not even planted trees, or a man seeking for fish when he had not dug the pool.

The expense of going abroad for study is necessarily heavy, hence the students are few; and we have pointed out the necessity of grounding all Chinese in native literature before allowing

them to leave the country. How much more feasible it would be to establish schools on a large scale in China! Let us plant them in every province, circuit, prefecture, department, and magistracy. Universities in the provincial capitals and Peking, colleges in the prefectural cities, and high schools in the districts, projected on the graded system, with the understanding that the lower institutions can be advanced to a higher order by private subscription. Let the curriculum of the high schools be the Four Books, native geography and history (abridged), arithmetic, geometry, and the elements of science; that of the colleges, the higher branches with the Five Classics, the *Tung Kien*,* government, foreign languages, and literature; and that of the universities of a still higher grade.

To the question, "Where will the money and means to launch such a scheme come from?" we reply: Convert the present *shu yuen*† into these educational institutions. We do not need both. If in some places these are poorly equipped, or meanly endowed, the benevolent institutions will

* The name of a history by Sze Ma, A.D. 1084. It is in 294 books, and covers the period from the fourth century, B.C., to the close of the Five Dynasties, A.D. 960.—GILES.

† Public schools nominally under Imperial supervision. They exist in all large cities.—TRANSLATOR.

serve the purpose, and the money that is now used for idol processions, theatrical exhibitions, and clan ancestral halls, can be put into the school fund. Other objectors may say that these funds would still be insufficient. We reply: Then convert the temples and monasteries of the Buddhists and Taoists into schools. To-day these exist in myriads. Every important city has more than a hundred. Temple lands and incomes are in most cases attached to them. If all these are appropriated to educational purposes, we guarantee plenty of money and means to carry out the plan. This could be done very well at the present time. The temples, etc., really belong to the people who contributed to their establishment. Buddhism and Taoism are decaying, and cannot long exist, whilst the Western religion is flourishing and making progress every day. Buddhism is on its last legs, and Taoism is discouraged, because its devils have become irresponsive and inefficacious. If there be a renaissance of Confucianism, China will be brought to order and Buddhism and Taoism will receive secure protection from the Sect of the Learned. We suggest that seven temples with their land, etc., out of every ten be appropriated to educational purposes. The Emperor can satisfy the

ousted priests by the bestowal of distinctions and rewards upon themselves, or official rank upon their relatives. By these means our schools will spring up by the tens of thousands, and after their utility has been demonstrated, the affluent gentry will doubtless come forward with subscriptions for a more extended educational enterprise.

The dismantling of Buddhist temples has occurred three times in the history of China (in A.D. 440, 627, and 846). This was done because the priests refused to pay taxes, and because it was desirable to advance Taoism. It was effected for private ends. Our plan is for the public good; it will call out the latent ability of our scholars, and the priests will be consoled with the titles. If the gentry of each province will take the matter up seriously and make a well-considered report to the Emperor, we are certain that His Majesty will approve.

In establishing these schools there are five important factors:

*First.*—The old and new must both be taught; by the old is meant the Four Books, the Five Classics, history, government, and geography of China; by the new, Western government, science, and history. Both are imperative, but we

repeat that the old is to form the basis and the new is for practical purposes.

*Second.*—The comparative study of governments and science, colleges, geography, political economy, customs, taxes, military regulations, laws, and expositions come under the head of Western government. Mathematics, mining, therapeutics, sound, light, chemistry, and electricity are classed under Western science.* The farther advanced classes should take up government, and the lower classes, science. In the high schools science should first be taught, then government. In the colleges and universities, government first and then science. A special course in science cannot be completed under ten years. The elements of government, etc., can be acquired in three years. On the whole, a knowledge of government is more necessary than a knowledge of science if we are to save the country; but the student of government should acquire some knowledge of science in order to carry on the government.

*Third.*—We must teach the young. Let the course of study be adapted to the qualifications

* Western methods of dealing with criminals are excellent. Medical education along Western lines is especially useful in military matters. The student of strategy should look this matter up.

of the student. Pupils with bright minds should learn mathematics; those with a good perspective sense, drawing; those with inventive powers, mechanics, chemistry, and manufactures; those with a clear pronunciation, languages; and those of robust frame, athletics. It will be difficult for men of middle age and above to take a thorough course.

*Fourth.*—Abolish the eight-legged essay. Let the new learning be the test of scholarship, but include the Classics, history, geography, and government of China in the examinations. The true essay will then come out. If so desired, the eight-legged essays can be studied at home; but why trouble the school with them and at the same time waste time and strength that can be expended in something more profitable?

*Fifth.*—Abolish the scramble for money. Students in foreign institutions are required to pay their own board and tuition. Salaries are never paid to them. The custom of paying the students, which obtains in our Chinese schools, was originally good in the intention to aid the indigent. It was, however, mistaken policy, for many students now come merely for the loaves and fishes and create a deal of trouble if their demands are not satisfied. This class of men are

devoid of understanding, and their malpractices tend to overturn the school system. The abuse of this benevolent scheme of eleemosynary education has entailed literary piracy, plagiarism, and the production of pseudonymous essays. Thus an originally good principle has been abused by sordid motives.

We cannot adopt the foreign plan at once, but can change our old methods of giving stipends to students, provide only board and tuition, and grade them according to the Northern Sung system, with prizes for the best. We are sure this method will grow in popular favor as soon as its advantages are perceived, and that profitable knowledge and useful acquirements will abound more and more. We need not feel discouraged if there is a dearth of efficient teachers for these institutions at the outset. This difficulty will soon be obviated. This year there are numberless books which treat of foreign subjects being published in Shanghai. Any man of understanding can, by the use of these, equip himself in three months to teach in the high schools. In a couple of years the colleges will graduate men who are also qualified to teach. The faculties of the universities will perhaps be incomplete at first, but a few good men in each

province can be found who will serve for three years, when there will be an abundance of useful literature and consequently better equipped instructors. There need be no fear on this score.

If it is found impossible to establish schools on such an extensive scale at once, let those who feel so inclined form educational associations for mutual help. Chinese literary men hold to the old custom of establishing societies for various ends. There are the "Essay Clubs," the benevolent institutions for freeing living creatures and respecting written paper, the "Poetic Associations," the "Convivial Clubs," "Chess Clubs," and "Domino Clubs." Who could object to forming *Educational* associations that would benefit the people and shape the destiny of the country? The ancients tended swine in the fields and traded on the streets; still they thoroughly learned the Classics. Cannot our wealthy people who have capacious houses and a wealth of literary matter imitate their illustrious example and learn too? Begin with two or three schools and gradually increase the number to ten, then to a hundred. If a few of them become interested in the matter, their influence for good will be felt far and wide. Formerly Yuen Poh of the

Lu Kingdom perished because he was unwilling to learn, and Keu Chien of Yueh flourished by reason of ten years of instruction. The fate of China depends upon the *literati* alone.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE STUDY OF REGULATIONS

THE educational institutions of every foreign country may be divided into technical and collegiate. The former teach subjects that are very profound and abstruse, embracing inventions unknown to the ancients and the discovery of new appliances now hidden from the world. It thus possesses an unlimited curriculum. The collegiate course is regular and the curriculum definite. The student graduates in three or five years, as the case may be, not alone, but constituting one of a class who have been under the same professors and studied the same books. These classes are started with a number of students. If some fail to pass their examinations, through indolence or sickness, they are dropped. If others, through diligence, master their allotted tasks, they are not allowed to take up lessons outside the regular course of the class. The students with inventive genius go into one class and

the dullards into another. No branch is taken up without maps and illustrations; no department without mathematics; and no recitations without ample elucidations of the subject. There are no students who are not given the opportunity of understanding what they study, and no professors who are not versed in their departments. Thus the latter are not harassed, and the former, who are made to understand that the art of explanation *is* learning, are not embittered.

By knowing what institution a man comes from, it can be discovered at once what branches he has studied, and by knowing how many years he continued in the institution one can discover how far he has progressed in his studies. Civil and military officers, farmers, merchants, artisans, all classes and conditions of men go to school. The lower schools teach the elementary branches, astronomy, geology, drawing, arithmetic, languages, drill, etc. The higher schools, algebra, logarithms, chemistry, therapeutics, government; and the languages of all countries are taught in schools of a still higher grade. These institutions grade the students into two or three classes according to their mental equipment.

If the government wishes men of ability for

certain posts, it selects them from these institutions. The men are qualified to fill these appointments and hold diplomas to this effect. The course of study is marked out by experienced professors, and the Government School Board approves. The prospectus is distributed among the people; several years afterwards it is revised or corrected to suit the needs of the times. These institutions are founded mostly by wealthy *alumni,* but in part by the Government. The students pay their own expenses and expect to get an education—not loaves and fishes; the poorer pay less than the rich. The money subscribed by individuals is used for buildings, professors' salaries, books, and apparatus—not for stipends for the students.* Thus those who matriculate see the advantage of the course and are willing to pay for it. After graduating in their department, whether official, merchant, artisan, or what not, they possess the means of making a living, and are not cast out on the world to starve. Consequently, in every country there are myriads of high schools, thousands of colleges, and hundreds of universities, whose expenses are not

*There are also a few free schools for very poor children, which teach the elementary branches at a small expense to the pupils.

paid by the officials, or defrayed entirely by wealthy individuals. The methods of establishing these institutions are, generally speaking, the same in all the countries of the world, and we suggest that they be adopted also by China.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE EXTENSIVE TRANSLATION OF BOOKS

To the plan of employing foreigners as instructors in our schools, which has obtained for the past ten years, we offer the following objections: First, these men do not speak Chinese, and hence are obliged to use interpreters. These are of a low grade and can speak only the words of the instructor without apprehending the subject-matter of instruction. Mistakes and errors, then, are easily and rapidly generated; for, in case some new idea is to be imparted to the student which the interpreter does not understand, he will either omit the explanation altogether or throw in his own meaning in order to save his face. Second, admitting that there are some qualified interpreters, we submit that the foreign method of instruction is slow. The instructors meet their classes only five or six hours *per diem* and then teach but one or two branches. And they do not exhaust the fountain of their knowl-

edge, but dribble it out to make it last longer. It requires a whole year to complete a course of addition and subtraction. But admitting that there are some foreigners not averse to labor, their influence is circumscribed, because they are so few. They require high salaries, and the Chinese who have studied under them do not amount to much, because, as Chu Hsi puts it, "what was learned did not stick in the memory." The defects of the present system then are: First, the inferior quality of the instruction given; and second, its narrow and limited extent.

The same objections hold against employing foreigners as superintendents in our manufactories, etc. In the San Tai (1900 B.C.), the Chow, Han, and Sui Dynasties, there were schools of languages in China. Wei Yuen, of Shao-yang, during the reign of Tao Kwang, translated all the newspapers and books of foreign countries into a work called the "History of the Maritime Countries." This was the first effort made to give the Chinese a knowledge of Western governments. Fung, the Shanghai Taotai, established a school of languages and translated many books during the reign of Tung Chi [Emperor before Kwang Sü], and took the first step towards giving the Chinese an insight into

foreign learning. These two men were hero pioneers.

If Chinese students first learn their own language thoroughly, master the Western tongue, and then finish with a foreign teacher, intercourse will be easy and safe. Without the foreign teacher it will be better still if the students use the "language without a teacher" books. In the making of treaties, the carrying on of diplomatic correspondence, etc., the Chinese and foreign texts often disagree. In that case the foreign text* is taken as the true interpretation, and we are often befooled. This is a legacy which entails untold injury upon China.

We have met many foreigners who are thoroughly versed in the language and literature of our country, but we have seen few Chinese who know much about Western literature; although they often meet face to face with foreigners, they do not seem to grasp their full meaning in conversation. In this way many opportunities are lost and much business is delayed. Generally speaking, English is the language of shopkeepers, and French is the language of diplomacy.

* Article L. of the English Treaty with China stipulates that, whenever there is a doubt as to the meaning of a phrase, the English text of the treaty is to be taken as the true interpretation.—TRANSLATOR.

The Japanese have made important selections from all the books of the West and translated them into their own language. By learning Japanese we can possess ourselves of this store of information without troubling about Western languages.

Translators may be divided into first-class, middling, and inferior. The Chinese who have a knowledge of a few polite phrases and of the day-book and ledger only, are not taken into the account. The first-class are those who can translate any document or book, say on law, into Chinese. The middling are those who can translate along one line only, say astronomy or mining. The inferior are those whose knowledge is limited to common despatches and correspondence, and who know the names of objects. It requires ten years' study to become a first-class translator.

But we cannot wait ten years for capable translators to meet the emergency; even if we could, the men would be untried as officials, and perhaps their bent of mind would be unsatisfactory after they had qualified themselves as translators. We must put the useful books of the West into Chinese and scatter them far and wide among those who are ignorant of Western languages, among the wide-awake officials, the impecunious *literati,*

the scholars replete with Confucian lore, the merchants, workmen, the old and the young, to be used and appropriated by them in their different spheres. There are three ways in which this can be done:—1. By establishing numerous schools of languages in each province. 2. By requiring the Ministers and Consuls abroad to translate the important books of the country in which they reside into Chinese. 3. By encouraging the wealthy and influential booksellers in Shanghai to print more of the works they have been issuing. There are many philanthropic men who have done much work in translating, who have won a great reputation, and wrought much benefit to China. Let us encourage these.

Wang Chung-ren has remarked: "A man is like Rip Van Winkle when he possesses a knowledge of the past, but not of the present; possessing a knowledge of the present and not of the past, he is deaf and blind." Let us alter this a little and say: A man who has a knowledge of foreign ways and is ignorant of Chinese, is become a brute; possessing a knowledge of Chinese and not of the West, he is deaf and blind, for in this event should the foreigner overcome him, he will not believe it; should he devise means for his overthrow, he will not perceive it; should he

warn him, he will not hear; should he be swallowed, he will not know it; should the foreigner ruin him, he will not see it. If this is not being blind and deaf, what is it? Let the young men who have not yet entered upon their official career study foreign languages, and not be discouraged at the outset. The older men can learn from translated books. It is more expedient to learn Japanese and translate their books. To sum up: To learn from a foreign instructor [with an interpreter] is not so good as becoming conversant with a foreign language itself; and to translate European books is not so profitable as translating Japanese books.

# CHAPTER VI

## NEWSPAPER READING

EXTOLLING the excellency of the T'ung Records, Li Han says: "If a man acquaints himself with them he will know all about the world without leaving his own door, and be able to fathom the disposition of the people without becoming an official." This saying can be applied to the Chinese and foreign newspapers of the present. Although congenial friends may be few, one can still receive instruction through the medium of the press.

Foreign countries abound with myriads of periodicals, official and popular magazines, filled with information about governments, commerce, new inventions, the army and navy, and everything valuable. Every country is like one family, and the people of the world are thus brought into close relation. In the time of Commissioner Liu, of Canton, the newspapers published abroad were read with his encouragement, but since his time no one has imitated his good ex-

ample. In Shanghai, newspapers have flourished since the time of T'ung Chi, but they have heretofore been of an inferior sort, dealing only with paltry mercantile matters and quoting very little from reliable foreign contemporaries. The Taotai of Shanghai now translates matters of present interest every month and forwards the information to the Tsungli Yamên and the Superintendents of Trade for the Northern and Southern Ports. But the Taotai cuts out all the disagreeable things and sends nothing that could offend or be distasteful to the Chinese Government; and what he does translate is stale (two months old) before it reaches its destination. This is little better than nothing! In 1895 certain liberal-minded men in Shanghai set up printing presses and issued much reliable information translated largely from foreign newspapers. Their example was followed by other public-spirited men in all the provinces. Although the papers they published were not all that could be desired, they opened the eyes of the Chinese, waked them up from their stupor, and tore away the key of knowledge from the grasp of the blind. Then the bigoted scholars and the greenhorns alike discovered that there are other countries besides China, and that impractical bookworm, the befogged and

besmoked *literatus*, found out for the first time that there is a present as well as a past. It is a mere quibble to say that these newspapers are not an inspiration and impulse to every man of common sense.

To-day the foreigners are harassing China, and disturbances at home and abroad are perilously increasing. Matters of diplomacy, war, etc., which our high officials dare not speak about above a whisper, are proclaimed aloud from the housetop by the foreign newspapers, so that the whole world hears. And not only our affairs, but those of Japan, Europe, and all countries; the alliances, ruptures, battles, annexations, designs, plots, etc., are published, so that one can see all sides of a question and be on his guard. This is an admirable arrangement, and we thoroughly indorse the papers as being of much advantage to one's country. But newspapers possess a better advantage still. They show us our complaints. This is the best of all. Duke Huan, of T'si, died because he did not know what his sickness was, and Ts'in perished through ignorance of his faults. The blind following of custom by the people for the most part fixes the destiny of a country. We do not perceive our own faults, and if we did, would not dare to speak

unreservedly about them. Every way seems just in our own eyes, but our strong neighbors come and search us out. If the Emperor and officials of our country, who read the newspapers and are exercised thereby, should fear the consequences of inaction and reform, would this not make for China's welfare? Readers of foreign newspapers perceive at once that the Chinese are unmercifully abused. We are compared with drunkards and rotten stuff. The partition of our country by foreigners, and the question of who can seize the largest portion, are freely discussed. This discussion arouses the ire of every patriotic Chinese. But stop. Let us put the question: Is it wise to be angry? Ought we not to court the acquaintance of those who frankly tell us our faults as Chu Ko did; and following the example of Chow Tsz, bewail the diseases that are eating away the life of China? An ancient saying runs: "The wise man holds on to the friends who are willing to criticise him." Let us dress this in modern apparel thus: "The wise country holds on to its critical neighbors."

## CHAPTER VII

### REFORM OF METHODS

THE terminus *a quo* of reform is the Court; the terminus *ad quem* is the people. Changes of method must first be made by the Emperor and afterwards be carried out by his subjects. Attempts at reform have been made within the past thirty years. When Tseng Wen-cheng was Vice-president of one of the Six Boards he apprised the Emperor of certain useless and cumbersome requirements in the Hanlin Examinations. Had he persisted in his attempts after becoming Prime Minister, the Hanlin Academy in the lapse of these three decades would have turned out some men of note. But we have never heard of his doing this. Why? Because at that time the Government had just put down the Taiping Rebellion, and Tseng was in dread of the envy of certain "present-day worthies." Then Wen Wen-chung opened the T'ung Wên College and published books on International Law, etc., for the information of the public. His efforts would

have produced at least some up-to-date men had they not been frustrated by a score of hyper-cautious, self-opinionated old "grandmothers" who laid their heads together and decided to have nothing to do with the T'ung Wên College,* the Tsung-li Yamen [then just established], or the New Learning. And why, pray? Because their better judgment had been utterly subverted by a mawkish pack of lying Confucianists. How sad and distressing it is to contemplate the fact that the counsels of such loyal, virtuous, and powerful champions as Tseng and Wen, were overthrown by "talk," and that no one since then has staked his reputation on such enterprises?

Tso Tsung-t'ang established a naval school in Fukien and foreign cloth mills in Kansuh. Shen Wen-shu also established schools, and, conjointly with the Viceroys at Tientsin and Nanking, floated the China Merchants' Steam Navi-

* The T'ung Wên College, or College of Combined Literature, was established in 1869 at Peking by the Chinese Government. Its prime object is to train young men for the public service, especially as agents of international intercourse. Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., the distinguished author of "A Cycle of Cathay" and other well-known works, has been the President of this institution since its establishment.

The Tsung-li Yamen, or Office of General Control, was established about thirty-five years ago. It is the medium of communication between foreign governments and the Chinese Emperor.—TRANSLATOR.

gation Company. Ting Wen-ch'eng built arsenals in Shantung and Szechuen. These were clean-handed and public-spirited men, and they lived at a time when the country was at peace (from the middle of the reign of T'ung Chi to the opening years of Kwang Sü). Unfortunately, however, at that time China swarmed with individuals having noses keen to smell out "heresy," and if these reformers had any successors, We, the Viceroy, are not aware of it. Those who came after either closed the doors of these institutions, or so crippled them by reducing their running expenses, that they have produced no practical benefit to the country worth mentioning.

But there are certain principles in China that are immutable. We cannot change the Obligations and the Records, but we can change the administration of laws; we cannot change the Holy Religion, but we can change our implements and weapons of war; we cannot change the sense of right, but we can change the *modus agendi* of the workmen and artificers.*

In this Dynasty there have been many innovations introduced in spite of opposition. The

* The Viceroy here reverts to the past and proves from the *Yih King*, *Shu King*, *Ch'un Ch'ieu*, and other ancient works, that certain changes were not only desirable, but obligatory and practicable.—TRANSLATOR.

men who stoutly resisted the introduction of steamboats and railways would now be the very first to resist their abolishment.

The anti-reformers may be roughly divided into three classes:

First, the conservatives, who are stuck in the mud of antiquity. The mischief wrought by these obstructionists may be readily perceived.

Second, the slow bellies of Chinese officialdom, who in case of reform would be compelled to bestir themselves, and who would be held responsible for the outlay of money and men necessary for the changes. The secret machinations of these befuddled, indolent, slippery nepotists thwart all schemes of reform. They give out that it is not "convenient," and in order to cloak their evil deeds rehearse the old story, the usual evasive drivel about "old custom." And if we attempt to discover what this precious old custom in the matter of education and government is, there will be remonstrances on all sides. Old custom is a bugaboo, a password to lying and deceit. How can any one believe it?

Third, the hypercritics.

We admit that the employment of foreign methods in China has not been a success, but we cannot admit that this is due to the methods.

The promoters of these foreign schemes showed no enterprise except to further their own personal and private ends. The Admiralty plan failed because we were too niggardly in our appropriations and the time was not opportune. The students and court officials who were sent abroad were recalled because the Government had no settled course of action, and hence no lasting benefit accrued to China. For this, Mother Grundy, and not the method, is to be condemned. Finally, we bought the guns and machinery before we had the gunners and machinists; we put the cart before the horse, and we failed. These hypercritical talkers who decry reform on account of this failure are not acquainted with the circumstances of the case. They expected chickens before the eggs were hatched: they saw a charge of birdshot and forthwith anticipated broiled owl. Graduates were looked for before the schools were opened, and ideal fortunes were made before we opened the mines. The times were out of joint. What one party buried, the other resurrected. Matters requiring the greatest care, caution, and tact were rushed through with the utmost precipitation, whilst questions of no importance were considered at length. Is it to be wondered, then, that nothing was accomplished?

# CHAPTER VIII

## RAILWAYS.

Is there any one power that will open the door of learning for the scholar, the farmer, the workman, the merchant, and the soldier? To this question we reply emphatically, there is, and it is the Railway. The potentialities of the scholar lie in extensive observation; of the farmer, in finding a ready sale for farm products; of the workman, in the increase of machinery; of the merchant, in cheap and rapid transit; and of the soldier, in the quick despatch of the munitions of war. The rulers of our old Dynasties considered the building of good roads of first importance in the conduct of the government. The Railway is the source of the wealth and power of Western countries. The laws of China make no provision for the building of thoroughfares. Consequently the hill roads are rough and uneven and the village roads are muddy and lead nowhere, whilst the streets of the city are dirty and neglected. We need not wonder that people are

afraid of going out and that merchandize cannot be freely transported to inland cities. Let us build Railways and then the scholar can have easy communication with distant friends, the farmer can utilize much that is now waste, the merchant can readily meet the demand for supply, forwarding the heaviest material, the workman will soon find machinery everywhere, the abundant products of the mines will be beneficially distributed, and our China coast will be securely protected and guarded by myriads of efficient troops. Then will there be economy of time and money; the officials cannot become idle nor the people oppressed. The whistle of the train will wake the echoes and dispel the doubts of the Conservatives. Rapid communications with headquarters will be made and much labor and expense saved in preparation for the reception of officials. The whole country will become really ours, and China will be one great united family, with no fear of famine or war.

If the circulation is good, it naturally follows that the body will be in health; if the ears and eyes are open, reliable information can enter; and if the heart and brain are exercised, proficiency will result.

The ears and eyes are the foreign periodicals,

the heart and the brain are our colleges, and the circulation is the Railway. Let us have it, and where it cannot touch, let us build good horse roads and tramways. The enrichment of the government and people will be but a secondary matter when we consider the splendid results that will follow in other directions. We have been looking into the Railway affairs of the world for thirty years. Associations exist in all countries for the promotion of Railway interests. Every country considers Railways most urgently important. They have been introduced all over the globe, and even now are daily spreading. They interlace the earth like spider-webs stretching over the land for millions of miles. If China does not introduce them we will remain isolated from the rest of the world. While others are travelling with facility to the sea-coast, we will be sitting, bound and paralyzed, in the house! How can the people of our Flowery Inner Land progress or even exist without Railways?

# CHAPTER IX

## COMPARATIVE STUDY

THE Book of Changes employs the word *t'ung* a great many times. Its meaning may be defined as the true delight in profound study with the mind ever alert to fathom the depths of learning. Its opposite is the untenable possession of a shallow and limited observation, with a meagre acquaintance with fact.

To-day the New Learning has come into contact with the Old. Should the principles of these not mutually *t'ung,* the Old Learning will contemn the New whilst compelled, perforce, to make use of it; and the New will hold the other in contempt, being at the same time under the necessity of enduring it; for the Old cannot be altogether abrogated at once. But the two can never be completely harmonized. A proverb says,

"Suspicion defeats great ends."

The principle of Western Natural Science is stated in the "Doctrine of the Middle" as follows: "It is only he who is possessed of the

most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the natures of other men. Able to give its full development to the natures of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of creatures and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion."*

The principle of what is now known as scientific agriculture lies in the Chow Ceremonial [3,000 years ago] which discusses the methods of transforming soil, silk and cotton selection, the utilization of waste, etc.

The Ceremonial says: "A man is to be despised who deliberately throws aside precious materials;" and the "Doctrine of the Middle": "Bring out the valuable things from the mighty mountains." These sayings embody the principles of mining.

*The Science of the "Great Learning" does not concern itself with that of the West in the least. Translators of Western books merely borrow the term from this Classic without understanding its true import.

The ideas of Forestry, prevailing in Europe, inhere in the Chow Ceremonial which mentions the existence of officers who were specially appointed to look after the mountains and woods.

The "Doctrine of the Middle" says: "Encourage all classes of artisans by a system of awards for superior work, in order to enrich the nation." In this saying lies the principle of Industrial Arts and the Exchange of native produce, and not in the encouragement to merchants. The *Lun Yü* says: "A good workman sharpens his tools;" and the "Biblic": "In doing good work, new instruments are necessary, not old." In these we have the principle of the employment of newest patterns of machinery now followed by foreigners.

The Analects again say: "The artisans labor in the public workshops." And why not work in their own native village? Because, as Kuan Tsz says, they must be supervised by officials. This is the principle of experimental Manufactories. The Chow Ceremonial speaks of the *Hsuin Fang Sze* who instructed the people as to new implements of labor. Here we have the beginning of National Exhibits and Expositions. The "Great Learning" says: "Let the producers be many, the consumers, few." Here is the

germ of Political Economy. Again: "There is a highway for the production of wealth, let there be activity in the production." The Analects: "There is merit in despatch." We therefore know that the business of the workman and merchant, the government of the officials, the operations of the soldier, ought to be carried on with swiftness and despatch and not with negligence and delay. Work demands machinery, transportation, the railway. The principle of the machine and the railway lies in this saying quoted above. The idea of the Mercantile, free export, sliding scale, etc., in the West lies in what the Chow Ceremonial says: "The superintendents of markets regulate the supply and eliminate what is hurtful, etc."

The *Analects* say: "After seven years of instruction the people will be prepared for war. Not to instruct them thus is like casting them away." Here we have the principle of military schools. Sze Ma's method was to employ no troops, however young and strong, without previous instruction. And if soldiers were wounded in battle they received careful attention. This principle agrees with that of the Red Cross Society.

A book of the Han Dynasty says: "The nine

universal arts proceed from an official who directs and controls them." Here we have the principle of employing men who are specially qualified. The Tso Chuan relates that Confucius received instruction from Tau Tsz [a barbarian]. Thus we have the warrant for sending Chinese abroad to be educated. The Ceremonial says: "A youth of thirteen should practise dancing and gymnastics, and at sixteen learn archery and riding." Also, "He was brave and strong, therefore he entered the marriage relation." These embody the principles of calisthenics. The "Classic of Study" says: "If one has no taste for a pursuit, he will take no pleasure in learning." Here we have the principles of Western schools and kindergartens. The "Biblic" says: "In arriving at a verdict, even in small cases, take the *consensus communis* of the people." Another old book has it: "Take public opinion in doubtful cases." This is the principle underlying the foreign jury system. The Chow Ceremonial says: "The Sovereign should hear the popular voice in matters outside the court," and the Biblic: "The Sovereign should consult with both officials and common people; following this course, prosperity will ensue; disregarding it, calamity will befall." This is the principle of

mutual support in the Lords and Commons. An ancient record says: "Cases should be examined whether the multitude approve or not." This embodies the principle of proroguing Parliament. The Ceremonial says: "The duty of the Censors is to apprise the Sovereign of the popular customs, as evidenced by their ballads, and discover what the people relish, as evidenced in the market prices." The Tso Chuan: "The scholars inform the officials, the common people placard their complaints, the merchants discuss on the streets, the artisans present specimens of their work to their superiors." Here lies the germ of the newspaper.

We therefore discover that all the mysterious principles of our Holy Canons lie embedded in Western methods, and need not discuss the similarity of well-known objects, documents, and hieroglyphics. The truth is, that foreign principles, laws, etc., have their origin in our Classics, but it is not true to say that these Classics contain a complete knowledge of Western methods and Western skill.

Confucius said: "I have heard that the Sovereign has dismissed his officers, and therefore literature has departed to the barbarians on the four sides. I believe this." This saying was in existence long before the time of Confucius.

The *Lieh Tsz* [a historical Thesaurus] says: "The Magician took King Muh on a long journey to foreign countries." Western countries have gradually come into relations with China. Chieu Yen said: "The country is only one district on the Eastern Sea," meaning that there were other countries. He heard about these from merchant vessels. Old Egyptian hieroglyphics are of the same kind as Chinese "Greater Seal" Characters [said to have been invented 800 B.C.]. The old tablets found in South America were cut by Chinese.

From these facts it is evident that Chinese learning, arts, government, and religion gradually spread over the earth, beginning in the San Tai [1900 B.C.], then in the Chow Dynasty, and afterwards when Lao Tsz went to the West. In the Western Han Dynasty, Kan Yin travelled through the Western Sea. In the Eastern Han, T'sai An and Tsing King were sent by the Emperor to India. Mo T'eng and others came to the East, and Fah Hsien went with his party to the West. The country of Ta Ts'in possessed the *Ang* bamboo staff, and the Ssz country, the white-knobbed fan. The Chinese and Western priests and the merchants by sea and land kept up an extensive intercourse, and the Chinese doc-

trines permeated the West, first transforming the country of Buddha, then overspreading the European continent in sure succession.

Western people, however, improved the literature, arts, and government of the Chinese until they became unlike their original form. This is not surprising, for by diligence men will surpass their inactive competitors even though these may have had the start. There are some purely foreign methods, again, which are superior to those of our ancients. Chinese skill in arts, mathematics, astronomy, arranging the calendar, crockery, silk weaving, etc., is better than in the ancient times.*

If it is said that what the sages originated is excellent, we agree; but if it is said that the workmanship of to-day does not surpass that of the T'ang, Yu, and San Tai, we demur. The wisdom of the world was not confined to the sages who could not foreknow what would come to pass. Western government and literature, therefore, will be beneficial to China and will not supersede the Holy Religion. Although they have no connection with the hoary past, if we study them no harm can befall us, for their prin-

* Eclipses were first reckoned in the Ts'in Dynasty. [A.D. 300.]

ciples agree with what the old Classics teach, as we have shown.

There is a class of Chinese who despise foreign methods, and without examining their excellences, contemptuously fling them aside with the remark that they are not specially mentioned in the Six Classics and the Histories of China. But what old method will suit the present day emergency? We challenge all these cavillers to produce an Ever Victorious Army* from the ancient drill, or protect our coast with old Chinese gunboats instead of with armored cruisers. By not adopting foreign methods we block our own way; that is, we render ourselves proud and bigoted obstructionists, who sooner or later will perish through our own stupidity.

There is a second class who partly understand foreign methods and attempt to reconcile every discrepancy by saying that our Classics already contain all Western learning. Who boast, for instance, that algebra is an original product of China [called Tsie Ken Fang] and hence are unwilling to study mathematics. They also brag that modern firearms are handed down from the Yuen Dynasty [A.D. 1200] and that their models

*The name of General Gordon's army, which defeated the Taiping Rebels about forty years ago.—TRANSLATOR.

were copied by foreign countries when they were forcibly pacified by the Chinese; and will not, in consequence, examine the merits of foreign arsenals, etc. This drivel is pure self-deception. What do we mean by self-deception? That which causes men to be overcome without even seeking the truth.

Still another class is drowned in Western methods. They combine Chinese and "Western" into one, and say there is no appreciable distinction between the two. They state that the "Spring and Autumn Classic" of Confucius is International Law, and that the Confucian Religion agrees with the Religion of Jesus. This is being self-bound. What is being self-bound? Becoming deceived, deranged, and losing what has already been attained.*

These three classes are all deceived because they do not comprehend the meaning of *t'ung*. The evil of non-intercourse expresses itself in ignorant, blustering talk without deeds.

To sum up: Chinese learning is moral. Western learning is practical. Chinese learning con-

* We heartily concur with this statement, but for reasons antipodally different from those of the Viceroy. There can be no compromise of Christianity with Confucianism without disastrous results, because Ancestral Worship, which is Idolatry, lies at the root of the system.—TRANSLATOR.

cerns itself with moral conduct. Western learning, with the affairs of the world. What matters it, then, whether Western learning is mentioned in the Classics or not, if it teaches nothing repugnant, or antagonistic, to the genius of our books? If the Chinese heart throbs in unison with the heart of the sages, expressing the truth in irreprovable conduct, in filial piety, brotherly love, honesty, integrity, virtue; if government is loyalty and protection, then let government make use of foreign machinery and the railway from morning to night, and nothing untoward will befall the disciples of Confucius.

But if the ruling classes conclude to remain befuddled, indolent, aimless, braggart, useless, ignorant, and not *t'ung;* if they elect to continue hopelessly proud, overbearing, sitting complacently in their places whilst the country is going to pieces and the Holy Religion is being eradicated; although they may adorn themselves in all the regalia of Confucius and quote long and elegantly from the Classics; although they may compose extended essays on ancient subjects and talk learnedly about Moral Philosophy, the whole world will forever reproach and revile them, saying, "Behold the scapegraces of Mencius and Confucius!"

# CHAPTER X

## MAINTAINING THE ARMY.

TROOPS are to the country what breath is to the body. The liver secretes blood and assists the circulation, and for this reason the *Nui King** says that this important organ controls all the functions of the body. Never has there been a man who could survive without a liver, and never has there been a country that could exist without an army; and yet there are many influential Chinese to-day who think that China should connect herself with the Western Disarmament Society, arguing that the affairs of China are in a desperate condition, and that such a move would guarantee a lasting peace to the Orient.

Our contention is, that a procedure of this kind, instead of promoting peace, would serve as an occasion of further insult to China by other Powers. Hsiang Su (400 B.C.) established a society of this kind, and was rebuked by Tze Han, who perceived his ulterior design of deceiving

* A medical Treatise.—TRANSLATOR.

the Kings. How much more important is it now to be on our guard when all the powerful countries of the world are talking of disarmament! Are they fooled or blinded?

Austria first instituted the Disarmament Society. Immediately afterwards the war between Russia and Turkey broke out. Then Germany attacked Africa, England attacked Egypt and Tibet, France conquered Madagascar, and Spain, Cuba. Turkey has just fought with Greece, and if there is any member of this Society who has played the peacemaker we have not heard of him. Germany, consequently, has seized upon our Kiaochou, and Russia has appropriated our Port Arthur. Since the Disarmament Society was formed, the great countries have been energetically purchasing men-of-war and using every means to obtain a power balance.* If we maintain an army, the weak countries will fear us and the strong will respect us. If we ally ourselves with Europe, then Europe will win; if with Asia, Asia will win. By all means get the army first and then consider the question of disarmament; for if we talk of disarmament to the other coun-

* Since the Viceroy penned these lines the Peace Conference of the Hague has met, the South African War has been waged, and China has fought against the world.—TRANSLATOR.

tries, without the force to back up our words, we will become the laughing-stock of the world. It would be like reciting the *Filial Classic* to a band of armed rebels, or hoisting a flag of truce to stop a street fight.

Drilling troops is better than disbanding them. With fifty war-ships on the sea and thirty myriads of troops on land; with daily additions to both ships and troops; with the daily strengthening of our forts and equipping them with the best engines of modern warfare, and with the railways intersecting the land, what country would dare begin hostilities against China, or in any way infringe upon her treaty rights? We would be in a position to redress our wrongs without the fear of staking all upon minor issues. Under these conditions, Japan will side with China, Europe will retire, and the Far East will be at rest. Kuan Tze says, "When the talk of disbanding troops prevails, the strategic points will not be guarded, and when the talk of protection becomes over-confident, truth and modesty will not be established." If the principle of disbanding the troops be carried out in China the Emperor and the people, high and low, will simply sit with folded hands awaiting the action of the Peace Society. The affairs of State will be neg-

lected, and no more will the troops "make pillows of their spears awaiting the movements of the enemy." Each province will maintain a mere undrilled corporal's guard to keep the peace. The weapons of war will rust, batteries and camps will be deserted. Civil mandarins will become drunkards, and the military will swagger. Officials will covet the people's wealth and squeeze their substance. Faithful advisers will come nevermore, for competent, clean-handed men will not be in demand. The mouths of the Censors will be stopped, and the faculties of the mind will deteriorate. Other countries beholding our forlorn and desperate condition will step in and divide China. Thus we will speedily perish.

If a man travels among mountains infested with tigers, will not his hope of escape from destruction be vain if he goes unarmed?

There are many who place the most implicit confidence in International Law, but these are as stupid as the individuals who depend on the Disarmament Society for peace. If countries are equally matched, then International Law is enforced; otherwise, the law is inoperative. For what has International Law to do with fighting issues when one country is strong and another weak? There is a saying of the Chou dynasty

which runs as follows: "If countries are equal in courage, strategy will conquer." We have never heard of International Law controlling the issues of war between unequal States. To-day the countries of the world are in close and mutual intercourse; but the relations of the smaller States to the greater are entirely different from those which exist between the States of equal power. China is not on an equal footing with the West. This is perceived in the fact that the duty on imports is fixed by Western Governments. Not so in China. Merchants engaged in business abroad are subject to the laws of the country in which they reside. Not so in China. Foreign commerce is confined to seaports in the West. Not so in China. The murder of a foreigner by a Chinese is a very serious matter, but the killing of a "Chinaman" by a foreigner is a trivial thing. Foreign countries have no Mixed Courts*—in fact, China is really not in the comity of nations, and it is useless to prate about International Law. Disarmament is an international joke, and International Law a deception. There is nothing for it but to seek help in ourselves.

* Courts in which a Chinese official and a foreign assessor are joint judges. The Mixed Court and extra-territoriality are two of the greatest eyesores to the Chinese.—TRANSLATOR.

## CHAPTER XI

### RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

ALIEN doctrines have caused dissension both in Asia and Europe. In the latter country the strife has been waged for mastery by the ambition of men. In China the fight for Confucianism against Taoism and Buddhism has been for principle. We now know what is right, that Confucianism is the pure and holy truth of Heaven and the sum and summit of the Five Relations. Not even the most distant countries can dispute this fact; and yet there are some who fear that our religion will decay, and are casting about for means to conserve it. Our own opinion is, that in order to advance Confucianism we must reform the government and not everlastingly combat other religions. The times are changed now—the present is not the past. Since the treaties were made, the Western Religion has spread over China. Our laws permit it, and the burning of chapels by Chinese is forbidden by our Emperor. In consequence of the murder of

missionaries in Shantung, Germany has annexed Kiaochow. Other countries are watching for opportunities to imitate the example in other parts of the Empire. Our condition is one of danger.

The higher class of Chinese should carefully consider the situation and should tolerate the Western Religion as they tolerate Buddhism and Taoism. Why should it injure us? And because Confucianism, as now practised, is inadequate to lift us from the present plight, why retaliate by scoffing at other religions? Not only is such a procedure useless; it is dangerous. For the people imitate their rulers, and the scoundrels and ruffians of China take occasion to create disturbances against foreigners, and without provocation injure them, and thus grieve the heart of our Emperor. The foreigners themselves are aroused against us, and calamity falls like gloom upon the country. How can such men be called patriotic? The Chinese at the ports have found out what kind of people foreigners are. In the interior it is different. The Westerner dressed in his native garb goes through a place and is immediately followed by a crowd of ignorant men and children, who soon begin to call names and throw stones. A mob quickly collects, and

who can tell what the consequences will be? The rabble do not consider whether the man is a missionary or not, or whether he is European or American. Without any reason whatever, the innocent man is often beaten by the Chinese, who cannot tell whether he is a custom-house officer, an assistant of some mandarin, a traveller, or a clergyman. All are hustled alike.

This is pure disobedience to the Chinese Emperor's commands. It is shameful for a couple of hundred Chinese to set upon one or two defenceless foreigners and attack them for naught. It is cowardly, too, and these crowds who are so brave on occasions like these would soon turn tail and flee if pitted against an enemy in war.

So foreigners say the Chinese have no manners. Our own opinion is, that the Chinese who create disturbances are lunatics. Again, we constantly hear awful rumors of missionaries taking out the eyes of the Chinese to prepare strong decoctions of medicine which are said to convert lead into silver. These stupid beliefs have been handed down for generations, and they are utterly false. Eight years ago a report was circulated in Ichang* that the eyes of seventy children in a certain school had been gouged out by mission-

*A treaty port on the Yangtse above Hankow.—TRANSLATOR.

aries. All the Chinese thoroughly believed it, and the authorities were compelled to make an investigation. And what was the result? All the children in that institution were discovered to be perfectly sound—eyes and all—except one. The parents of this little one said that it had been afflicted with smallpox, and its eyes had been injured by the disease. The eyeballs were intact!

In 1896 a rascally Chinese teacher buried the body of a child in the premises of the missionaries in Kiangyin* to further some ulterior design against the foreigners. An official investigation was instituted, the whole truth discovered, and the culprit punished. These are recent events, and show that no belief whatever can be put in rumors about foreigners. The Christian Religion has been established for more than a thousand years and propagated in many countries! The new and the old have been in conflict for centuries, and no one outside of China has ever dreamed of setting such rumors afloat. If there had been such awful practices, foreign countries would have been destroyed long ago, and no European could boast of a whole skin. Some simpleton may say that such operations are

*A city on the Yangtse, sixty miles below Chinkiang.—TRANSLATOR.

performed only upon the Chinese. But we know that foreign countries always manufactured an abundant supply of medicines before they had contact with China. Chapels exist in nearly all the provinces of China, and, pray, how could foreign missionaries murder the Chinese in such numbers as would enable them to procure enough eyes without it being universally known? An old saw runs:

"A marble will move about on a smooth surface, but will stop at a hole;

"A lying rumor will flourish among the ignorant, but will stop at common sense."

Ye long-robed and begirdled Confucianists, it is your office and duty to instruct the ignorant people and not be fools yourselves, lest the men from beyond the seas sneer at you behind your backs!

# APPENDIX

## THE POSITION OF CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

To the Editor of the *North China Daily News:*

Sir: In your issue of the 25th instant, there is a startling paragraph, giving what you call "Bad News from the River." You say: "We are informed that H. E. Chang Chih-tung states that he doubts if he can restrain his troops another ten days." That is an alarming piece of news, and I have been trying to find out whether there is any foundation in fact for it. You will, I am sure, be glad to know that I am sincerely convinced that there is not a particle of truth in the reports. I don't believe that the Viceroy has said anything of the kind. He has given a point-blank denial to the statement, and the thing in itself is highly improbable.

The air in Central China is full of all sorts of wild rumors at present. Timid natives come to us every day, and many times in the day, with the strangest stories of what is going to be done, and what is going to befall us. Some tell us that Chang Chih-tung is false, and only waiting his opportunity. Some tell us that he and the Governors are not of one mind, and that he will have to give in sooner or later, and perhaps sooner than later. There are foreigners among us who are only too ready to give credence to tales that tend to shock the nerves, and to pass them on without even thinking or inquiring into their truth or falsehood. To them the more alarming the tale the

more credible it appears. One of the worst services anyone can render just now is to give publicity to scaring rumors without any known authority for the truth of them. This paragraph has disturbed the peace of many of our friends in China, and has already brought us telegrams and letters of a very grave nature. Many of our friends in the home lands will be pained beyond measure by the news, and we shall soon be receiving disturbing telegrams and letters from them. It seems to me that the greatest care should be exercised in sifting the materials sent for publication in these days. The bare truth is startling enough and painful enough without adding thereto the wild imaginings of frightened men and hysterical women.

So far our Viceroy has proved himself able to keep things quiet at this centre. He meant to do it, and he has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. In two or three distant places there have been serious riots; but they have taken place in direct opposition to his most earnest desires, and he has done everything in his power to prevent the spread of the evil. But for the Viceroy's well-known desire to keep the peace, and his strenuous efforts to maintain order, this centre would have been in a hot blaze long ere this. The madness is here, and it is the strong arm of Chang Chih-tung that has kept it down until the present time. Let that arm be withdrawn, and within a week Hupeh will present a scene of persecution, murder, and destruction similar to that which is now witnessed in Chihli. We all owe a debt of deep gratitude to Chang Chih-tung for the peace and safety we have been enjoying at this centre during this never-to-be-forgotten month.

I write in this way not because I do not think there is danger. In a former letter I said that, whilst I had strong faith in the good-will of the Viceroy, I have not the same faith in his subordinates, and that we ought to take nothing for granted, but be prepared to

defend ourselves and our interests everywhere and always. That is my opinion still. I have no fear so far as the rowdy element by which we are surrounded is concerned. The Viceroy can control that, and will control it unless something springs up to destroy the understanding between the Viceroys and the Foreign Powers. In that case it is possible that Chang will not be his own master. A current may set in which will sweep both Viceroys along with irresistible force. Any attempt, or suspicion of an attempt, at partitioning China, would be enough. And I can conceive of other attempts, of not so grave a nature, bringing on a crisis and a catastrophe. I feel sure that both Viceroys, Liu Kun-yi and Chang Chih-tung, would rather die a hundred deaths than see their country cut up into so many fragments. These two men are true patriots, and will fight to the death, however hopeless the fight might be, for the unity of the Empire. Could we blame them for this? This is a point, however, on which the Viceroys need be under no apprehension, and this being the case, it is to be hoped that we shall pass through this momentous crisis without war in this valley. May God grant it. I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, July 31, 1900.

THE END.

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